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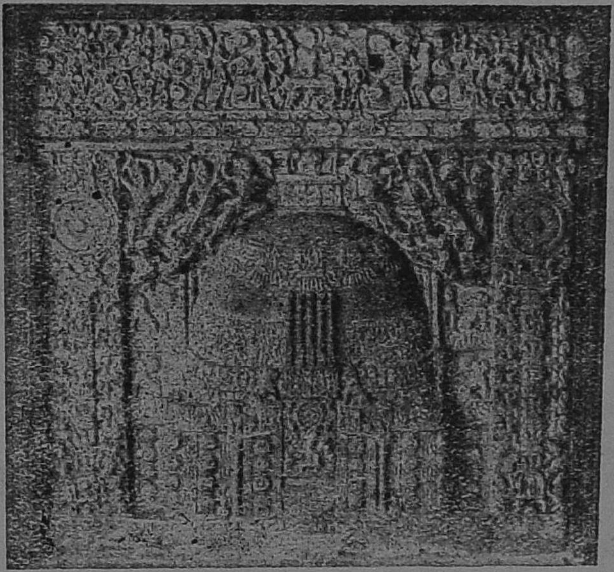

Amaravati Sculpture depicting a Stupa.

1933.

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THE DIVYAS.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A.

In the Polamūru grant, edited by Mr. R. Subba Rao M.A., L T. in Vol. VI, pp. 17-24 of the journal, the Visnukuṇḍin king. Mādhavavarman, son of Govindavarman, has been called *avasita-vividha-divya* (line 8). This passage has been left out in the translation of Mr. Subba Rao. The passage, however, appears to me very important in connection with the administration of justice in the Andhra country at the time of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. Here is a clear evidence of the prevalence of the system of trial by ordeals in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom. The word *divya*, here, certainly means "ordeal" and *vividha-divya*, "various (forms of) ordeals," The verb *ava-so* has, among others, the meanings, "to accomplish", to know and "to destroy". The passage *avasita-vividha-divya* may, therefore, mean one, "who has accomplished the various (forms of) ordeals," or "who knows (how to use) the various (forms of) ordeals," or "who has destroyed (i.e. abolished) the various (forms of) ordeals". In my forthcoming work on Andhra history (in the press), I am showing that this Mādhavavarman Viṣṇukuṇḍin, performer of eleven *aśvamedhas* and thousand *kratus* (*agniṣṭomas*), was one of the most orthodox Hindu kings of ancient India: it is, therefore doubtful whether we can expect from him such a great reform as the abolition of the deep-rooted system of trial by ordeals, which is sanctioned by ancient law-givers and which was in use in our country as late as the end of the 18th century A.D. and possibly still later. The last meaning is, therefore, less probable.

The prevalence of the system of trial by ordeals in ancient Indian courts is amply attested to by the *Smṛiti* literature. The subject has

been fully discussed in the *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya, II, verses 95-113, and in the Sanscrit Lexicon, *Śabdakalpadruma* (Calcutta) under the word *parīkṣa*. We also refer our readers to a very interesting paper "On the Trial by Ordeal among the Hindus, by Āli Ibrāhim Khān, Chief Magistrate of Benares, communicated by Warren Hastings Esq." in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I. pp. 389-404.

In view of the fact that the law-givers lived in different ages and in different parts of this vast country, we cannot expect unanimity in their views regarding trial by ordeal. It is interesting to note that the word *divya* originally meant an "oath", that is a form of invoking the Supreme Being to prove the truth of an allegation, but later it was generally understood to mean trial by ordeal," that is, a form of appealing to the direct interposition of divine power. In connection with the development of the system of trial by ordeals, it is also interesting to note that while the system is unknown to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, it sprouted at the time of the codes of Manu and Yājñvalkya and has fully grown at that of the *Mitākṣharā* of Vijñāneśvara and the *Divyatatva* of Bṛihaspati. According to Kauṭilya, "Self-assertion (*svayaṁvāda*) on the part of either of the litigant parties has been found faulty; examination (*anuyōga*) honesty (*ārjava*), evidence (*hētu*) and oath (*śapatha*)—these alone enable a man to win his cause" (*Arthaśāstra*, II. i). It appears that the system of trial by ordeal did not develop at the time of Kautilya, a fact which possibly goes to show that Kauṭilya cannot be placed—as has been done by some scholars—in the 3rd century A. D., and after Yājñavalkya.

The simple *Śapatha* of the *Arthaśāstra* is seen much developed at the time of the *Manusaṁhita*. According to Manu, a Brāhmin—in order to ascertain the truth of his statement—should be made to swear by a declaration of truth, a kṣatriya by his *vāhana* (horse, elephant etc.) and weapons, a Vaiśya by his cattle, seed-corn and gold, and a Śūdra by all sins. Alternatively, a Śūdra may be put to fire, drowned into water or made to touch separately the heads of his sons and wives and swear: in these cases, the man who is not burnt by fire, who is not quickly drowned by water and whose sons and wives (heads of whom were touched in swearing) do not fall ill within a short time,—is to be considered as true regarding his statement. (*Manusaṁhitā*, VIII verses 113—115). Manu, therefore, was acquainted with three forms of ordeals, the last form of which, however, seems to have ceased to be a legal *divya* in the age of the later law-givers.[1]

1. This form of ordeal appears to have been largely used in Bengal. It can be faintly traced in the altercations of rustic girls of Bengal even at the present time.

In the age of the Code of Yājñavalkya, the system of trial by ordeals became more developed. According to this law-giver, "Balance, fire, water, poison and *kośa*— these are the ordeals used here for the proof of innocence, when the accusations are heavy and when the accuser offers to hazard a mulct (in case, he should fail): or, one party may be tried by ordeal if he likes, the other, then, must risk an amercement; but the trial may take place even without any wager if the crime committed be injurious to the king.........Balance for women, children, old men, the blind, the lame, Brāhmais and the sick; but for the Śūdra, fire, or water, or seven *yavas* of poison. Unless the loss of the accuser amounts to a thousand pieces of silver, the accused must not be tried by the spear-head, nor by poison, nor by balance; but if the offence be against the king or if the crime be heinous, he must acquit himself by one of these trials in all cases." (*Yājñvalkya-saṁhita*, II. verses 95-99.) Yājñavalkya, thus, appears to have known six forms of the ordeals.

The fully developed form of the system of trial by ordeals, however, can be found in the works of later writers on law, such as Bṛihaspati, Vijñānēsvara and others. According to Bṛhispati, there are nine different forms of ordeals. They are:

Dhaṭo=gnir=udakañ=c=aiva viṣaṁ kośaś=ca pañcamaṁ |
Ṣaṣṭhañ=ca taṇḍulāḥ proktaṁ saptamam tapta-māṣakaṁ||
Aṣṭamaṁ phālam=ity=uktaṁ navamaṁ dharmajam Smṛtaṁ||

I. *Dhaṭa-divya* or *tula-divya* i.e. ordeal by balance.

The beam having been previously adjusted, the cord fixed and the scales made perfectly even, the accused person and a Brahmin judge (*prādvivāka*) fast a whole day. Then, after the accused has been propitiated with *hōma* and deities have been worshipped, the person is weighed. When he is taken out of the scale, the *prāḍvivāka* prostrates before the balance, pronounces some *mantras* from the *śāstras* and, having written the substance of the accusation on a *lipi-patra*, binds it on the head of the accused. After reciting some more *mantras*, the judge puts the man again on the scale. If he weighs more than before, he is guilty, if less innocent and if exactly the same, he is held partially guilty. In case of doubt, the accused must be weighed again; but if any part of the balance—though well fixed — breaks down, it will be considered as proving his guilt. *Divyatatva* quoted in the *Śabdakalpa-druma*, s. v., tulā.)

II. *Agni-divya* i.e. ordeal by fire.

In performing the fire-ordeal, an excavation — nine cubits long, two spans broad and one span deep — is made in the ground, and filled with a fire of *pippala* wood. Into this fire, the accused person must

walk bare-footed: if his feet are unburnt he is innocent, otherwise guilty. (*As. Res.*)

III. *Jala-divya* i.e. ordeal by water.

In the water-ordeal, the accused should be caused to stand in a depth of water sufficient to reach his navel; but care should be taken that no ravenous animal be in it and that it is not moved by much air. A Brahman is then directed to go into the water with a staff in his hand, and a soldier shoots three arrows on dry ground from a cane bow. A man is then despatched to bring the arrow that has been short farthest, and, after he has taken it up, another man is also ordered to run from the edge of the water. At this moment, the person accused is ordered to grasp the foot or the staff of the Brahman, who stands by him in the water, and immediately to dive into it. He must remain under water till the two men, who were sent to fetch the arrows, return. If he raises his body or head above the surface of water before the arrows are brought back, his guilt is proved. (*Ib.*)

IV. *Viṣa-divya* i.e. ordeal by poison.

The poison-ordeal is performed in two different ways. (a) After the *hōma* is performed and the accused person is bathed, 2½ *ratis* or 7 *yavas* of *viṣanāga* (a poisonous root or of "*Sanc'hyā* that is, white arsenic)" are mixed with 8 *māṣas* or 64 ratis of clarified butter, which the accused should take from the hands of a Brahman. If the poison is visibly effective, the man is condemned, if not, absolved.

(b) A hooded snake, called *nāga*, is thrown into an earthen pot into which is also dropped a ring, seal or coin. The accused person is then ordered to take it out with his hand. If the serpent does not bite him, he is proved innocent; otherwise, he is pronounced guilty. (*Ib.*)

V. *Kōśa-divyā* i.e. ordeal by "image-washed" water.

The *kōśa-divya* is performed in the following way. The accused person is made to drink three draughts of water, into which images of the sun, the *Dēvī* and other deities have been washed for the purpose. If the man has any sickness or indisposition within 14 days after taking the draughts, his crime is considered to be proved. (*Ib.*)

VI. *Taṇḍula-divya* or ordeal by rice (cf. *cālpaṛā* or "enchanted-rice (?)" of rural Bengal.)

The rice-ordeal is generally applied to persons suspected of theft. Some dry rice is weighed with the *Śālagrāma* or some *mantras* are recited over it, and the suspected persons are severally asked to chew a quantity of it. As soon as it is done, they are ordered to throw it on some leaves of the *peepul* tree or on some "*bhurja-patra*, or bark of a tree

from Nēpāl or Cashmīr". The man, from whose mouth, rice comes dry or stained with blood, is pronounced guilty and the rest innocent. (*Ib.*)

VII. *Tapta-māṣaka-divya* i.e. ordeal by the hot *māṣaka* coin.

In performing this ordeal, the appointed ground is cleared and rubbed with cowdung. The next day at sunrise, after the worship of Gaṇēśa and other deities is done, the *prādvivaka* having recited some *mantras* places a round pan of gold, silver, copper, iron or clay, with a diameter of 12 inches and depth of three inches, and throws into it "one *sēr* or eighty *sicca* weight of clarified butter or oil of sesamum" ("20 *palas* of ghee and oil"—Pitāmaha). After this, a *māṣaka* coin is thrown into the pan or alternatively "a ring of gold, or silver, or iron is cleaned and cast into the oil" which some Brahmans proceed to heat. When the thing in the pan is very hot, they throw a fresh leaf of *peepul* or *bilva* into it; if the leaf is burnt, the thing is taken to be sufficiently hot. Then, after reciting a *mantra*, the *prādvivāka* orders the accused person to take the coin or ring out of the pan. If he can do this without his fingers being burnt or blistered, he is considered not guilty, otherwise guilty. (*Ib.*, See also Pitāmaha quoted in the *Mitākṣarā*.)

VIII. *Phāla-divya* i.e. ordeal by spear-head.

In performing the *phāla-divya*, the Brahmins, after due worship of Gaṇēśa, draw nine circles on the ground with cowdung at intervals of 12 inches; each circle should have 12 inches as diameter, except the ninth, which may be smaller or bigger than the rest, Then the *hōma* is performed, gods are worshipped and some *mantras* are recited. The accused person, then, performs ablutions and, wearing wet clothes and facing towards the east, stands in the first circle with his hands on his girdle. After this "the presiding Magistrate and the Pandits" order him to rub some unhusked rice between his palms, which they carefully inspect. If any scar of a former wound, mole or any other mark appears on his palms, they stain it with a dye, so that it may be distinguished from any new mark after trial. The accused is then ordered to hold both his hands open and close together. Having, then, put into his hands "seven leaves of the trembling tree, or *peepul*, seven of the *sami*, or *jend*, seven blades of *darbha* grass, a little barey moistened with curd and a few flowers, they fasten the leaves on his hands with seven threads of raw cotton." Some *mantras* are then recited by the Brahmins, who next write a statement of the case and the point in issue on a palmyra leaf together with the appointed *mantra*, and tie the leaf on the head of the accused person, They then heat an iron-ball or a spear-head, weighing about five pounds and throw it into water; they heat it again, and again cool it in the same way. The third time they heat the

iron till it is red-hot. Next, the Brahmins, after reciting some *mantras* take the red hot iron with tongs and place it in the hands of the accused, who is standing in the first circle. He must, then, gradually step from circle to circle, his feet being constantly in one of them. After reaching the eighth circle he must throw the iron in the ninth to burn some grass, which must be left there for that purpose. He is thereafter ordered to rub some unhusked rice between both his hands; if on examination any mark of burning appears on either of the hands, he is considered guilty; if no such marks appear, his innocence is proved. (*As. Res.*)

IX. *Dharmaja* or *Dharmādharma-divya* i.e. ordeal by (the images of) *Dharma and Adharma.*

In performing the image ordeal (or Dharmādharma ordeal) two processes may be followed. (a) An image, named Dharma, is made of silver and another, called Adharma, of clay or iron ("lead or iron"—Pitamaha). Both of these images are thrown into a big earthen jar. If the accused can bring out the image of Dharma out of the jar after thrusting his hand into it he is considered innocent, but if he brings out the image of Adharma, he is condemned.

(b) An image is drawn on a piece of white cloth and another on a piece of black cloth. The first is called Dharma, the second Adharma. ("A Dharma in white and an Adharma in black are to be drawn either on *bhurja* or cloth."—Pitāmaha). These are severally rolled up in cowdung ("cowdung or clay"—Pitāmaha), and thrown into a large jar, without being ever seen by the accused. The accused is then ordered to bring out one of those rolls. If he brings out the figure on white cloth he is acquitted; if that on the black cloth, convicted. (*Ib.*; See also Pitāmaha quoted in *Mitakṣarā* on Yājñvalkya, II. 113)

Certain months and days are limited for the different species of ordeals; there are also other injunctions in the *Smṛiti* literature. But the law givers are not unanimous on these points. It will be straining the patience of our readers to notice these in detail. We therefore quote a passage from Āli Ibrāhim Khān, where we find the tradition based on Vijñānēśvara's *Mitakṣarā* and followed in the Benares region at the end of the 18th century.

"Agrāhan, Paush, Māgh, P'hālgun, Srāvan, and B'hādr, for that of fire, Āswin, Cārtic, Jaisth, and Āśadh, for that by water; Paush, Māgh and Phālgun for that by poison; and regularly there should be no water ordeal on the *Astami* or eighth; the *Cheturdasī*, or fourteenth day of the new or full moon, in the intercalary month, in the month of B'hādr on Sanaischer, or Saturday; and on Mangal or Tuesday: but, whenever

the magistrate decides that there shall be an ordeal, the regular appointment of months and days need not be regarded."

"The *Mitācshera* contains also the following distinctions. In cases of theft or fraud to the amount of a hundred gold mohurs, the trial by poison is proper; if eighty mohurs be stolen, the suspected person may be tried by fire; if forty, by the balance; if from thirty to ten by the image-water; if two only, by rice."

As has been already noticed, differences in the views of different law-givers appear to us to be due to differences in their time and place. A few instances will possibly enable our readers to understand the point clearly.

(a) One of the most glaring instances of such differences may be seen in the views of Bṛihaspati on the eighth form of the nine *divyas* namely, the *phāla-divya*. According to Bṛihaspati, "A piece of iron, eight fingers in length, four fingers in breadth and weighing twelve *palas*, is called a *phāla*: when the *phāla* is red-hot (*agni-varṇa*), the thief (here, stealer of a cow is meant) must once lave it with his tongue; if (the tongue) is not burnt, he is held innocent; if otherwise, convicted." The passage : "*go-caurasya pradātavyaṁ tapta-phālāvalēham=iti smritir=iti maithilāḥ*" possibly goes to show that this form of the *phāla-divya* was very common in North Bihar. (See *Śabdakalpadruma*, S. V., *phālam*).

(b) A local variety of the third ordeal, viz., the *jala-divya* has been thus noticed by Āli Ibrāhim Khān: "In the villages near Benāres, it is the practice for the person, who is to be tried by this kind of ordeal, to stand in water up to his navel, and then holding the foot of a Brāhman to dive under it as long as a man can walk fifty paces very gently. If before the man has walked thus far, the accused rise above the water, he is condemned; if not, acquitted."

(c) Another glaring instance is in the question whether ordeals should be applied to women. According to Nārada women cannot be tried by ordeals— "*strīnāñ=ca na bhaved=divyaṁ.*" But another law-giver, Śūlapāni, says that this prohibition refers to *divyas* other than the *tulā-divya*, and we have already seen that Yājñvalkya prescribes trial by the balance-ordeal for women. There is also a view that in connection with a quarrel between a woman and a man, the former should undergo ordeals. (*Ib.*, S. V., *parīkṣā*).

The application of ordeals to women appears to be supported by the Ramayanic story of Sītā's undergoing the fire ordeal in order to prove that her chastity was not violated by Rāvana during her confinement in Laṇkā and also by some epigraphic references. Some records (e.g. *Ind. Ant.*, IXX. p. 248) say that Candaladēvi (Candrike or Candri-

kādēvi), wife of Lakṣmīdēva I (A. D. 1209?), the Raṭṭa king of Sandatti, "attained victory over a number of serpents in an earthen water-jar;" the allusion here is certainly to the queen's having undergone trial by the poison-ordeal. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, pt. II, p. 556 and note 5).

From the last reference we see that the prevalence of the system of trial by ordeals is not only proved by the *smṛiti* literature, but can also be proved from references to the practice in inscriptions and other writings. For inscriptional references, we refer our readers to *Ep. Ind.*, XIII. p. 294, note 4; XV, p. 394; and *Bomb. Gaz.*, I. pt. II. pp. 556 & note 5; 571 & note 3. In conclusion we quote here three instances of trial by ordeals, one from an inscription and two from the paper of Āli Ibrāhim Khān, who claims to be an eye-witness of the trials.

(i) In the Kaliyuga year 4289 and the 15th year of the Goa Kadama king Vīra-Jayakēśidēva III "on Sunday the eighth day of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha, in the presence of the fortunate prime-minister Īśvarārya Daṇḍanāyaka, Śivaśakti the Āchārya (priest) of the god Śrī-Kallēśvaradēva of the well called Attibāvi at Kittūr, and Kalyaṇaśakti, the Āchārya (priest) of the original local deity of that place (Mūlasthānadēva), opened a subject of dispute, the former asserting that a plot of ground in that place, called Ālakoḷanakeyi, had from of old belonged to Kallēśvaradēva, while the latter claimed it for the original local deity (Mūlasthana dēva).

"The agreement that they both of their own free will entered into in the presence of the same Īśvara Daṇḍanāyaka was this: Śivaśakti said, 'whereas this plot of ground Ālakoḷanakeyi, belonged of old to Kallēśvaradēva, Dēvarāśi, the father of Kalyāṇaśakti unauthorisedly brought it under cultivation under the Chaṇḍe State, and had a grant written in his own favour; and I am now prepared to undergo the ordeal of *phāla-divya* in support of my statement that it had belonged from ancient times to Kallēśvaradēva"; (on the other hand) the argument of Kalyāṇaśakti under an oath with the sacred symbols on his head, was, if the Chaṇḍe Saṁsthāna gave this plot of ground Ālakoḷanakeyi, to my father Dēvarāśi and to myself on behalf of the original local deity (Mūlasthānadēva), it has not been unauthorisedly brought under cultivation.'

"Īśvara Daṇḍanāyaka then said, 'Go both of you before the assemblage of the bankers of the village of Degāve, which has been granted in perpetuity to Brahmans; and on their asserting to this, on Sunday the seventh day of the dark fortnight of Āṣhāḍha in the same year, in the presence of all the bankers of the Agrahāra village Degāve and in front of the temple of Mallikārjunadēva of that place, Śivaśakti, undergoing the ordeal of *phāla-divya*, made oath that the piece of and, Ālakoḷanakeyi, belonged from of old to the god Kallēśvara of Attibāvi; while Kalyāṇaśakti taking the sacred symbols on his head (or

standing on his head!), declared that it was the property of the original local deity (Mūlasthānadēva). After this on Monday the eighth day of the same dark fortnight, all the bankers of the Agrahāra village Degāve having convened themselves in the assembly-hall and having examined the hand of Śivaśakti decided that he had won his cause, and that Kalyāṇaśakti, who had taken the sacred symbols on his head, had lost it, and that the plot of ground called Ālakoḷanakeyi belonged to the god Kallēśvara of Attibāvi and gave a certificate of success to Śiva-śakti."

The Kittur pillar inscription, *JB. B. R. A. S.*, IX, pp. 307—9.

(ii) "In the year of the Messiah 1783, a man was tried, by the *hot-ball* at Benāres, in the presence of me, Āli Ibrāhim Khān, on the following occasion. A man had accused one Śancar of larceny, who pleaded that he was not guilty; and as the theft could not be proved by legal evidence the trial by fire-ordeal was tendered to the appellee, and accepted by him. This well-wisher to mankind advised the learned magistrates and Pandits, to prevent the decision of a question by a mode not conformable to the practice of the Company's Government, and recommended an oath by the water of the Ganges, and the leaves of the *tulasī* in a little vessel of brass (copper?) or by the book *Harivamsa*, or by the stone *Sāligrām*, or by the hallowed ponds or basons, all which oaths are used in Benāres. When the parties obstinately refused to try the issue by any one of the modes recommended, and insisted on a trial by the *hot-ball*, the magistrates and Pandits of the court were ordered to gratify their wishes; and setting aside those forms of trial in which there could be only a distant fear of death, or loss of property, as the just punishment of perjury by the sure yet slow, judgment of heaven, to perform the ceremony of ordeal agreeably to the *Dharma Śāstra*: but it was not till after mature deliberation for four months that a regular mandate was issued for trial by the red-hot ball; and this was at length granted for four reasons: first, because there was no other way of condemning or absolving the person accused; secondly, because both parties were Hindus and this mode of trial was specially appointed in the *Dharma Śāstra* by the ancient law givers; thirdly, because this ordeal was practised in the dominions of the Hindu Rājās; and fourthly, because it might be useful to inquire how it was possible for the heat of fire to be resisted and for the hand that held it to avoid being burned. An order was accordingly sent to the Pandits of the court, and of Benāres, to this effect: "Since the parties accusing and accused are both Hindus and will not consent to any trial but that by the hot-ball let the ordeal desired be duly performed in the manner prescribed by the *Mitācsherā*, or commentary on Yājṇavalkya."

When preparations were made for the trial, this well-wisher to mankind, attended by all the learned professors, by the officers of the court, the *sipāhis* of Captain Hogan's battalion, many inhabitants of Benāres, went to the place prepared, and endeavoured to dissuade the appellor from requiring the accused to be tried by fire, adding, "if his hand be not burned, you shall certainly be imprisoned." The accuser, not deterred by this menace, persisted in demanding the trial. The ceremony, therefore, was thus conducted in the presence of me, Āli Ibrāhim Khān.

The Pandits of the court and the city, having worshipped the god of knowledge, and presented their oblation of clarified butter to the fire, formed nine circles of cowdung on the ground; and, having bathed the appellee in the Ganges, brought him with his clothes wet; when, to remove all suspicion of deceit, they washed his hands with pure water: then, having written a statement of the case, and the words of the *mantra* on a palmyra leaf, they tied it on his head; and put into his hands, which they opened and joined together, seven leaves of *peepul*, seven of *jend*, seven blades of *darbha* grass, a few flowers and some barley moistened with curds, which they fastened with seven threads of raw white cotton. After this they made the iron ball red-hot and, taking it up with tongs placed it in his hands. He walked with it, step by step, the space of three *gaz* and a half, through each of the seven intermediate rings, and threw the ball into the nineth where it burnt the grass that had been left in it. He next, to prove his veracity, rubbed some rice in the husk between his hands; which were afterwards examined, and were so far from being burned that not even a blister was raised on either of them. Since it is the nature of fire to burn, the officers of the court, and people of Benāres, near five hundred of whom attended the ceremony, were astonished at the event; and this well-wisher to mankind was perfectly amazed. It occurred to his weak apprehension, that probably the fresh leaves, and other things, which, as it has been mentioned, were placed on the hands of the accused, had prevented their being burnt; besides that the time was but short between his taking the ball and throwing it down; yet it is positively declared in the *Dharma sāstra*, and in the written opinions of the most respectable Pandits, that the hand of a man who speaks truth cannot be burnt; and Āli Ibrāhim Khān certainly saw with his own eyes, as many others also saw with theirs, that the hands of the appellee in this cause were unhurt by the fire. He was consequently discharged. But, that men might in future be deterred from demanding the trial by ordeal, the appellor was committed for a week. After all, if such a trial could be seen once or twice by several intelligent men, acquainted with natural philosophy, they might

be able to assign the true reason why a man's hand may be burnt in some cases, and not in others.[2] *As. Res.*, Vol. I.

(iii) A Brāhmin, named Rishiswara Bhatta, accused one Rāmdayāl, a linen painter, of having stolen his goods. Rāmdayāl pleaded not guilty; and after much altercation, consented to be tried, as it had been proposed, by the *vessel of oil* (taptamāṣaka-divya). This well-wisher to mankind advised the Pandits of the court to prevent, if possible, that mode of trial; but since the parties insisted on it, an ordeal of hot oil, according to the *śāstra*, was awarded for the same reasons which prevailed in regard to the trial by the ball. The Pandits who assisted at the ceremony were, Bhishma Bhatta, Nānāpāt'hac, Manirāma Pāt'haca, Manirāma Bhatta, Siva, Anantrāma Bhatta, Cripārāma, Vishnuheri, Crishnachandra, Rāmendra. Gōvindarāma, Hericrishna Bhatta, Cālidāśa; the three last were Pandits of the court. When Ganēśa had been worshipped, and the *hōma* presented, according to the *śāstra*, they sent for this well-wisher to mankind, who attended by the two *Dārōghas* of the *Dēvāni* and *Faujdāri* courts, the *cotwāl* of the town, the other officers of the court, and most of the inhabitants of Benāres, went to the place of trial; where he laboured to dissuade Rāmdayāl and his father, from submitting to the ordeal; and apprised them that, if the hands of the accused should be burned, he would be compelled to pay the value of the goods stolen, and his character would be disgraced in every company. Rāmdayāl would not desist: he thrust his

2. In connection with this remark, it may be interesting to note what Edwin Edser writes about the "Spheroidal State" in his *Heat for Advanced Students* (Macmillan & Co., 1923) (pp. 195—196).

"Expt. 52............

"Expt. 53............The above experiments illustrate what is termed the Spheroidal State of water. A laundress generally tests the temparature of her iron by observing whether it is sufficient to cause a drop of saliva to assume the Spheroidal State. Jugglers were formerly in the habit of plunging their hands into molten lead, their immunity from burning depending on the moisture on their hands assuming the Spheroidal State. Blacksmiths will often lick a bar of red-hot iron. In early times, a common form of ordeal was to walk on red-hot ploughshares. Many who came through this ordeal triumphantly must have ascribed to supernatural intervention an occurence which was strictly in accordance with natural law.

"Water is not the only substance which can assume the spheroidal state. All liquids will do so if placed on a metal surface that is sufficiently hot. If a mixture of solid carbodic acid and ether is poured into a red-hot platinum crucible, it will assume the Spheroidal State. If mercury is poured on to the mixture, it will be frozen, though the platinum dish remains red-hot."

hand into the vessel, and was burned. The opinion of the Pandits was then taken; and they were unamimous that, by the burning of his hand, his guilt was established and he was bound to pay Rishiswara Bhatta the price of what he has stolen; but if the sum exceeded five hundred *ashrafis*, his hand must be cut off by an express law of the *sāstra*; and a mulct also must be imposed on him according to his circumstances.

The chief magistrate, therefore, caused Rāmdayāl to pay Rishiswara seven hundred rupees in return for the goods which had been stolen; but as amercements in such cases are usual in the courts of judicature at Benāres, the mulct was remitted, and the prisoner discharged.

The record of this conviction was transmitted to Calcutta in the year of the Messiah 1783; and in the month of April 1784, the Governor-General, Imādu'd-daūlah Jelādet Jang Behāder, having seen the preceding account of trials by ordeals, put many questions concerning the meaning of Sanscrit words, and the cases here reported; to which he received respectful answers...... (*Ib.*)

THE SANGAMA DYNASTY.

VAJJALA NARASIMHAM, M.A., B.Ed.

On the death of Vijaya Bhūpati Dēvarāya I in 1422 A. D., Vijayaraya, his eldest son became the next king of Vijayanagar. The following inscription dated S.S. 1344 (1422 A.D.) which definitely mentions that Vijayarāya Māharāya was ruling the kingdom of Hastināvati (Vijayanagar) in peace and wisdom, appears to be his first inscription, issued in kingly dignity.

1422—1423 A. D.

स्वास्ति समस्तभुवनाश्रय श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभ महाराजाधिराजराज परमेश्वर श्रीवीरप्रताप देवरायरकुमार विजयरायमहारायरु......हस्तिनावँतिय नेल वीडिनोळु सुखसंकथाविनोद दिं राज्यंगेयुत्तिरे ... शकवरुषं सु साविरदमुन्नुर नाल्वत्तनाल्कर (1334) शुभकृतु वेनिसिद संवत्सरदो ळाश्वीज शुद्धदपंचमि ......

(Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. 7. 93 Shikarpur Taluk. Page 175).

It is to be noted that the above is the first śāsana of Vijaya, bearing the imperial titles of Rajādhirāja, Rājaparamēswara, Vīrapratāpa, etc. During the reign of Dēvarāya I, Vijaya acted as Yuvaraja and issued inscriptions in that capacity under the name of 'Vira Harihara' which was probably his traditional name. Finding the inscriptions of Vijaya from 1412 A. D. onwards, Sewell and Rice guessed that he came to the throne in that year; but it is to be noted that Dēvarāya I ruled as late as 1422 A. D. as is already shown and all the śāsanas found prior to that year were grants of Vijaya, issued by virtue of his princely right.

On his accession to power, Vira Harihara assumed the title of Vijaya (Arjuna) or Victorious king. The following lines show that he was also famous as 'Vijaya Bukka', a name which he assumed probably in memory of the mighty deeds of his illustrious ancestor, Bukka I.

श्रीदेवरायो भव दूर्जित श्रीः ॥
अध जयंत इवामरनायकात् ।
गुणानिधे रुपलब्ध जनि ....
विजयबुक्कमहीपतिरुन्नतो
विजितशत्रु रभूद्विजयोपमः ॥

(Nellore Inscriptions Part I Page 353)

Nuniz says that 'Visaya' (for so he calls him) ruled for six years. Sewell accepts his version. Examined from the documentary evidence, it seems that Vijaya ruled for a short time and the few inscriptions connected with his reign cover only one year 1422-1423 A.D.

Devaraya II, the eldest of the sons of Vijaya Bhūpati, was a worthy son of the worthy father. In some respects, he eclipsed his father, and was undoubtedly the greatest and the most distinguished 1424—1446 A. D. member of the Sangama dynasty. In the inscriptions and in the grants that belong to him, he is called by a number of more or less similar names, Praudha Dēvarāya, Praudharāya, Pratāpa Dēvarāya, Pratāparāya, Immadi Dēvarāya, Gajabeṇta Dēvarāya, etc.

(Vide E.C. Vol. 7 No. 240 Shikarpur Taluk.
,, ,, ,, No. 109 Nanjangud Taluk.
,, Nellore Inscriptions Part I Page 19 Part III Page 1122).

It is already shown that by the untiring and strenuous attempts of such mighty Sovereigns as Bukka I and Devaraya I, the city of Vijayanagara gradually expanded into a kingdom which ultimately developed into an Empire. By his military prowess and valour, Devaraya II extended the limits of the Empire and it is no exaggeration to say that he became the sovereign not only of the whole of South India but also ruled over some portions of the east coast of the Deccan. The inscriptions credit him with having defeated the Reddi rulers and the Padmanaicks who were forced to submission and payment of a fixed amount of tribute to the powerful Rāya of Vijayanagar. In the vast empire that he conquered, he appointed a number of Provincial Governors, some of them being his own brothers. Thus, during his time Srīgirinātha Udaiyar, a brother of Dēvarāya, ruled the kingdom which was situated in the modern North Arcot District (Epigraphical Report 1909). The Satyamangalam plates of Devaraya II also describe that the king was helped by his brother Pratāpadēva, just as Mahendra was helped by his younger brother Upendra. (Vishnu.)

प्रतापदेवरायेण प्रख्यातेनानुजन्मना । महेन्द्रस्येवयस्य श्री रुपेन्द्रेण प्रकाशते॥

(Epigraphia Indica Vol. 3, Satyamangalam Plates.) He seems to have held sway over the district or portion round Penukonda, perhaps as a viceroy of his brother, Devaraya II. (Vide Srīsailam Plates).

Almost all the accounts dealing with the history of the first dynasty say that the empire attained the acme of its power and glory under Devaraya II. The royal city attracted the attention of the world by its wealth, magnificence, population and extent, and from this time commenced the visits of a number of travellers, European and native, to the city. The accounts of Nicolo Conti and Abdur Razzak give us an illuminating picture of the splendours of the city in the first half of the fifteenth century.

The political events of the reign of Devaraya II are too well known to be mentioned here. There is some difficulty in ascertaining the exact date of his death. Nuniz observes that Devaraya II reigned for 25 years which Sewell accepts, and fixes between 1419-1444 A. D. But Nuniz who gathered informatian based on tradition about the year 1535 A.D. cannot be regarded to be accurate with regard to the dates concerning the history of the period. Dr. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar in his book 'A Little known chapter of Vijayanagar' refutes the version of Nuniz and says that 'Devaraya II died in all probability in A.D. 1448—49 and was succeeded by his son, Mallikārjuna in the same year; but he does not give any documentary evidence to support his point.

I take that Devaraya II died in the month Vaiśākha of the year Kshaya 1446 A. D., on the authority of the following inscription.

क्षयाह्वयकवत्सरे द्वितीययुक्तवैशाखके ।
महीतनयवारके, युतवळक्षपक्षेतरे ।
प्रतापनिधि देवराट् प्रलयमापहंतासमा ।
चतुर्दश दिने कथं पितृयुतोनिवार्यगतिः ॥

(E. C. Vol. 2. No. 125 Page 123)

The year 'Kshaya' corresponds to 1446 A.D. It is questioned whether the 'Dēvarāt' referred to in the above inscription is identical with Devaraya II of Vijayanagar, and it is argued that the 'Dēvarat' may have been only a prince of the blood, since royal titles are not given to the deceased; but the objection that the glowing attributes of the sovereign are not mentioned in the śāsana that describes his mournful death, seems to be unsound. It is a common feature of the Vijayanagar records that they do not contain the imperial titles of the kings in such cases where the lines are in verse form, and on this ground we may account for the omission of the titles of Dēvarāya in the above inscription. Moreever we have strong documentary evidences to prove that Mallikārjuna, his immediate son and successor, occupied the throne early in the year 1447 A. D. (E. C. Vol, 7. Shikarpur Taluq. No. 239). Therefore, it is not proper to reject the above record which records his death as taking place in 1446 A.D. on the flimsy ground that is does not include the imperial titles, and to guess some other year for his death without sufficient documentary evidence. In the absence of any other inscription indicating the year of his death in a manner more definite than the one that is quoted, we may safely assume that Devaraya II died in the year 1446 A. D.

Mallikarjuna 1446-1465 A.D.

Sewell says that the period following the death of Devaraya II was a period of confusion in the history of Vijayanagar. "Devaraya II died early in 1444 A. D. There is still

however a difficulty, as inscriptions giving the name of Devaraya continue as late as 1449 A. D. It looks as though there had been a Devaraya III reigning from A. D. 1444—1449."

There is no need however to assume a Devaraya III at all; for all these inscriptions bearing the name of 'Devaraya' after 1446 A.D., the year of Devaraya II's death, belong to Mallikarjuna, the next successor to the throne of Vijayanagar. Mallikarjuna was also known as 'Devaraya' or more specifically "Immadi Praudha (Pratāpa) Dēvarāya" because he was regarded twice as valiant as his father. The following inscription shows this clearly.

स्वस्ति समस्तप्रशस्तिसहित यादवकुलपरम्पराप्राप्त संगमराय बुक्कराय हरिहरराय देवराय विजयराय गजबेंटिकारप्रौढदेवराय महारायकुमाररु श्रीमान् महाराजाधिराज राजपरमेश्वर अरिरायविभाडभाषिगे तप्पुवरायरगंड चतुस्समुद्राधिपति श्रीवीरप्रताप इम्मडिप्रौढदेवरायराद मल्लिकार्जुनमहारायरु सुखसंकथाविनोददिं पृथ्वीराज्यंगेयुत्तिरलु...

(E. C. Vol. 3 No. 89 Seringapatam Tq. Vide also Nos. 11 and 113).

In the Epigraphical Report of 1908, it is also noted that Mallikarjuna was called 'Immadi Praudha Devaraya'. Sewell seems to be unaware of this fact and so is led to the conclusion that a Devaraya III might have ruled between 1444-1449 A.D.

Not only Mallikarjuna but many other sovereigns of Vijayanagar had the practice of adding the names of either 'Harihara or Devaraya' as attributes to their names in memory of those mighty monarchs. The titles are also significant in that Hari means 'the protector of the world', Hara 'The Destroyer of enemies' while Devaraya is equal to 'Dēvendra'. This peculiar custom existed not only among the rulers of Vijayanagar but also among most of the Chalukyan kings who called themselves as 'Satyāśraya' and 'Vishnuvardhana'.

Moreover, the following inscription dated S. S. 1370 (A.D. 1448) gives an indisputable proof that Mallikarjuna was the direct successor of Devaraya II and that the reign of no other king intervened between the reigns of Devaraya and his son, Mallikarjuna.

......विजयरायमहीमहेन्द्रः। ततोजनि महाराजो देवराज इवापरः .... देवरायोधराधिपः ... तेजोनिधे रजानि भूमिपते रमुष्मा । च्छ्री मल्लिकार्जुन इति प्रथितः कुमारः। शौर्यादिभि र्गुणगणै रधिकश्च ताता। च्छंसंति यं नृपति मिम्माडिदेवरायं ॥ ......वियन्मुन्यग्नि चन्द्रैश्च गणिते शकवत्सरे .... (1370. S. S. 1448 A.D.) विभवे* मार्गशीर्षस्य द्वादश्यां सितपक्षके ....

(Epigraphica Carnatica Vol. 3, No. II Seringapatam Tq.)

*In this inscription in place of 'Vibhave' there is the word 'Prabhave' which seems to be an error; for the saka year 1370 and the cyclic year dont agree. So it should be corrected as 'Vibhave'; then both the Cyclic and Saka years agree.

It is now therefore clear that there was no other sovereign between Dēvarāya II and Mallikārjuna, as supposed by Sewell, and that the latter was the direct successor of the former. With regard to the date of Mallikarjuna's accession to the throne, Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar says in his "A Little known chapter of Vijayanagar" that Mallikārjuna came to the throne in 1449 A.D. But this seems to be inaccurate as we have documentary evidences to show that Mallikārjuna ruled in 1447 A. D., immediately after the death of his father which took place in 1446 A. D., as is shown already. I quote here one out of the many inscriptions that prove his sovereignty prior to 1449 A. D.

स्वास्ति श्रीमतु राजाधिराजपरमेश्वर श्रीवीरप्रताप मल्लिकार्जुनमहाराय राज्याभ्युदय शकवरुष 1369 (1447 A. D.) ने प्रभवसंवत्सरद भाद्रपद ... ...

(E. C. Vol. 7. Shikarpur Tq. No. 239.)

So we may assume that Mallikārjuna immediately succeeded his father as king of Vijayanagar in 1446 A.D.

Little can be said about the events of the reign of Mallikārjuna. His accession to the throne marks the commencement of the decay of the Sangama Dynasty. So long as Dēvarāya II guided the ship of the state the neighbouring powers did not dare to enter into hostile relations with him but when he was followed by Mallikārjuna, the combined armies of the Bahamini sultan and the Gajapati ruler of Orissa marched against Vijayanagar. The date of this invasion may be placed roughly between 1446-1448 A.D.; for it is said that the enemies took advantage of the accession of a young man to the throne, with the fond hope of defeating him; but they were repulsed by Mallikārjuna who 'sallied forth from his capital, like a lion from his den and routed the armies after completely defeating them' as is shown by the Gangādāsapratāpavilāsam, a Sanskrit drama written by Gangādhara.[1]

Like his predecessors Mallikārjuna seems to be a pious and devout monarch and made a large number of grants and endowments to God Mallikārjuna. He also granted special concessions to Brahmins and won popularity among his subjects by his benefactions. His reign closes with the year 1465 A.D. from which date we find inscriptions of his successor, Virūpāksha.

Before we take up the events in the reign of Virūpāksha, the last king of the Sangama Dynasty, his relationship to his predecessor Mallikārjuna has to be ascertained. Writers on the history of Vijayanagar

1. Sources of Vijayanagar History Page 66.

are unanimously of opinion that Virūpāksha was the son of Dēvarāya II and consequently the brother of Mallikārjuna. Sewell observes that 'two sons of Dēvarāya II according to inscriptions were named Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha respectively.' Hultzsch, Burnell, Rice and other European writers share the same view. Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, maintains that Virūpāksha was the son of Dēvarāya II and the brother of Mallikārjuna but a close examination of the few documents that are at our disposal, proves that Virūpāksha was not the son of Dēvarāya II, but the son of his brother, Pratāpa (Dēvarāya).

To explain the relationship of Virūpāksha with Mallikārjuna, it is necessary to see the order of succession from Vijayabhūpati. An inscription dated S.S. 1346 (1424 A.D.) found in the village of Satyamangalam in the Vellore Taluq, describes the genealogy of the Sangama dynasty till Dēvarāya II and mentions a younger brother of his called Pratāpa Dēvarāya who appears to have held a high office, perhaps that of co-regent under his royal brother.[2]

The Epigraphical Report of 1909 also mentions that Dēvarāya II had a younger brother Pratāpa Dēvarāya who acted as a provincial viceroy under his brother. The next king of Vijayanagar, Mallikārjuna, was the eldest son of Dēvarāya II and his wife Ponnaladevi.[3]
It is already shown that he ruled from after the death of his father til. 1465 A.D.

Mallikārjuna appears to have had two sons, Rājaśēkhara and Virūpāksha respectively; but it is certain that neither of them became king of Vijayanagar after the death of their father. The inscriptions of this period show that another Virūpāksha seized the throne of Vijayanagar and the question at issue is the relationship of that Virūpāksha to Mallikārjuna.

It is shown by the Satyamangalam inscription quoted above that Dēvarāya II had a brother called Pratāpa Dēvarāya. The Srīsailam Plates, quoted in the 'Sources of Vijayanagar history, describe that Vijayā nad a son called Pratāpa Dēvarāya through Nārāyanadēvi. He seems to be undoubtedly the younger brother of Dēvarāya II and the same one referred to, in the Satyamangalam plates. According to the plates, Pratāpa Dēvarāya obtained Penukonda (Ghanādri) from his elder brother, Dēvarāya II and was so bounteous that he was called Janapārijāta. His wife was Siddhaladēvi and to her was born the celebrated Virūpāksha.[4]

2. Ephigraphia Indica Vol. 3. Satyamangalam Plates.
3. E. C. Vol. 3. Seringapatam Tq. No. 11, page 29.
Sources of Vijayanagar History by Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar pp. 69-70

Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has slipped into an error in interpreting the above lines. He assumes that 'Pratāpa Dēvarāya' alluded to in the plate was Dēvarāya II and then interprets the words निजाग्रजात्प्राप्तघनाद्रिराज्यः as meaning "Dēvarāya II had an elder brother whose name we do not know, who conquered the kingdom of Penukonda, from whom we do not know". Such an interpretation of the passage is not only irrational but also incorrect. None of the inscriptions available mentions the existence of an elder brother of Dēvarāya II, while many inscriptions prove that Dēvarāya II was the eldest son of Vijaya, and that he had a younger brother called Pratāpa Dēvarāya. On the other hand, if Dēvarāya II had possessed an elder brother, as Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar assumes, certainly then that elder brother must have come to the throne of Vijianagar, to the exclusion of Dēvarāya II. In the second place, it is inconceivable to assume that such a mighty monarch as Dēvarāya II obtained a small place as Penukonda from a nameless and insignificant 'elder brother'.

Now the relationship of Virūpāksha to Mallikārjuna can be clearly drawn by the Srīsailam plate. Virūpāksha was neither the son of Dēvarāya II nor the direct brother of Mallikārjuna. He was the son of Pratāpa Dēvarāya who acted as Viceroy of Penukonda which was given to him by his elder brother Dēvarāya II. Moreover, the absence of any reference to Mallikarjuna who ruled after Dēvarāya II in the inscription is highly appropriate to an usurper like Virūpāksha who seized the throne of his ancestors (पित्र्यांसिंहासनं) by his own प्रताप (valour) The legal heir to the throne after the death of Mallikarjuna was his son Rājaśēkhara; but it seems that Virūpāksha got the throne, after conquering all his enemies at the point of the sword as can be inferred from lines 'खड्गाग्रतः सर्वरिपून् विजित्य............'. The date of his coronation was in the month of Kārtika of the year Pārthiva S. S. 1388 which corresponds to 1465 A. D. as can be inferred from the Srisailam plates.

End of the Sangama Dynasty 1485 A. D.

The closing years of the first dynasty in the history of Vijayanagar, are shrouded in mystery and darkness. An impenetrable veil of oblivion hangs over this portion of the history of Vijayanagar, consisting of the fall of the Sangama dynasty and the establishment of the Sāḷuva dynasty. Regarding the particulars of this period, it is lamentable to note that almost all our sources are silent and supply no information to illumine the period. Ferishta records no event concerning Vijayanagar during this troublous period. Nuniz gives, no doubt, the entire story of the events of this period in an interesting form, but we can, by no means, vouch for its accuracy. The information that can be gleaned from the inscriptions

regarding the events that occured during this dark period, is sadly meagre and disappointing. It is indeed a mystery too deep to fathom how such a powerful empire, with vast resources at its command, decayed all on a sudden during the last quarter of the fifteenth century and how a feudatory chief like Sāḷuva Narasimha usurped the throne. In the absence of reliable information concerning the actual train of events, we must be content to let the Sangamas pass away in darkness.

SANGAMA PEDIGREE.

Sangama I.

- Harihara 1336-1350 A.D.
- Kampa
  - Sangama II of Bitragunta Grant.
- Bukka I 1350-1377 A.D.
  - Harihara II 1377-1404 A.D.
    - Bukka II 1404-1406
    - Dēvarāya I 1406-1422 A.D.
      Vijaya Bhūpati 1422-1423
      - Dēvarāya II 1424-1446 A.D.
        - Mallikārjuna 1446-1465 A.D.
          - Rājaśēkhara
      - Pratāpa Dēvarāya obtained Penukonda from his elder brother and acted as governor.
        - Virūpāksha 1465-1485 A.D.
- Mallapa
- Muddapa.

THE CHOLAS OF RENADU.

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1. About a dozen inscriptions from the Cuddapah District reveal to us the existence of a line of Chōla kings who trace their descent from Karikāla the great and claim to have been members of the Solar race and *Kaśyapa gōtra*. These were rulers of the Rēnādu 7000 district which is located in the Cuddapah and Karnool districts. Though we have no definite data in their records, regarding the age of their rule, Epigraphists believe, on the basis of Paleography, that they must have flourished in the 7th and 8th centuries. That a Chōla kingdom flourished in this region in the 7th century is borne out by the evidence of the Chinese pilgrim HieunTSang who speaks of it. It seems that the capital of Chu-li-ye was about 10 li round and at a little distance S. E. of it was a stūpa built by Aśōkarāja. The Chu-li-ye were S. W. of Dhānyakataka. "Going from Chu-li-ye South, we enter into a wild forest tract and passing 1500 or 1600 li we come to the country of Ta-lo-pi-cha (Dravida). This account locates Chn-li-ye or the Cholas in the Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts south of which there is still a wild jungle tract. It is plain beyond doubt that a Chōla family ruled in the Cuddapah district in the 7th century.

Mention of the family.

I. *Karikāla Chōla.*

2. There is a very strong tradition in the Telugu country which mentions that Karikāla Chōla conquered it and ruled for some time over it. The Telugu Chōlas almost invariably trace their descent from this king. Even the later Pallava rulers of this country, known as the Telugu Pallavas refer to this chieftain as the contemporary and rival of Trilōchana Pallava their own ancestor. Some of the Eastern Chālukyan records while describing the origin of the Chālukyas, mention that a certain Vijayāditya of that family fought with Trilōchana Pallava, when he invaded the Dekkan. This Karikāla-Trilōchana-Vijayāditya synchronism is too popular to be dismissed as a mere figment of imagination.[1] It cannot be denied that this Karikāla obtained the Telugu country by defeating the Pallava who was then its ruler. Evidently then the initial point of Chōla rule in Andhra depends upon the date of Karikāla Chōla.

Mentioned in the Telugu Country.

1 Dr. N. Venkataramanayya—Karikâla Chola and Trilochana Pallava. App.E.

3. There is a wide divergence of opinion regarding the date of Karikāla. He is very well known to ancient Tamil literature and on that basis some have tried to assign him to the 2nd or 3rd century B. C. Several attempts have been made in this direction based on the Karikāla-Trilōchana-Vijayāditya synchronism. The late Mr. Krishnasastry wrote that there were five generations between Vijayāditya and Kubja Vishnu: calculating backward from the latter's date he arrived at the conclusion that Vijayāditya, Karikāla and Trilōchana flourished at the end of the 5th century A.D.[2] While discussing the significance of the expression. *Trairājya* Dr. N. Venkataramanayya wrote "Karikāla's invasion of the Pallava kingdom must have taken place during the later half of the 6th century A. D.[3] In his book "Trilōchana Pallava and Karikāla Chōla" he discusses the problem at length and postulates a new way of approach. His views may be briefly considered here. He quotes from an early Eastern Chālukyan record,[4] "A king of this race, Vijayāditya by name, having gone to the Dekkan with the desire of conquest and having challenged Trilōchana Pallava, met with his death on the battle-field. His chief queen, who had been pregnant for six months, reached an *agrahāra* called Muḍivēmu and being protected like a daughter by Vishnubhaṭṭa Sōmayajin who dwelt there, gave birth to a son Vishnuvardhana."[5] This story is not found in the inscriptions of the Chalukyas of Badāmi and they give other names in place of Vijayāditya and Vishnuvardhana of the Vēngi records. The earliest inscriptions of the Badāmi house, containing geneological accounts, mention Jayasimha, Raṇarāga and Pulikēsin I. A little later the Doctor says "But the Eastern Chalukyan grants of the same age ignore Jayasimha and Raṇarāga altogether, and mention in their place, the names of two other kings, Vishnuvardhana and Vijayāditya".[6] Then he proceeds "we are of opinion that Vishnuvardhana and Vijayaditya should be identified with Jayasimha and Raṇarāga respectively".[7] Later on, he says "If we are right in our surmise, Vijayaditya the opponent of Trilōchana Pallava must be the father of Jayasimha-Vishnu vardhana."[8] Calculating from 566—67 A. D. the initial year of Kīrti varma I. at the rate of 20 years a generation, Dr. Ramanayya concludes "Therefore Trilōchanapallava appears to have lived during the closing years of the 5th century A. D. That must have also been the time when his great rival Karikāla flourished".[9] Sound as this argument is

Date.

2 E.I. XI p. 340.
3 Madras Christian College Magazine January 1929.
4 E.I. VI p. 239.
5 Karikāla & Trilóchana p. 40-41.
6. Ibid p. 42.
7. Ibid. 8. Ibid. p. 43 9. Ibid. p. 44

there is still an apparent confusion in the later part of the reasoning. The Doctor states that the Vengi records mention Vijayāditya and his posthumous son Vishnuvardhana. Then he refers to the Badāmi accounts mentioning Jayasimha and Raṇarāga. Logically then, the identification should be between Jayasimha of Badami with Vijayāditya of Vengi and Raṇarāga with Vishnuvardhana. But instead, the scholar identifies Jayasimha with Vishnuvardhana and Raṇarāga with Vijayaditya. It appears as though there has been an unwarranted inversion of the order of the names given by the Vengi inscriptions. This seeming confusion is the result of an omision. The Raṇasthipūdi and Chellūr grants which speak of the early ancestors of the Eastern Chalukyas mention the adventurer Vijayāditya who encountered Trilōchana, his posthumous son Vishnuvardhana and a second Vijayāditya after him. The Doctor leaves out Vijayāditya I. and identifies his son Vishnuvardhana and grandson Vijayāditya II. with Jayasimha and Raṇarāga respectively. Karikāla probably has to be assigend to a slightly different date, even on the basis of Dr. Ramayya's identification. It is generally accepted by scholars that the accession of Pulikesin I took place in 550 A.D. Jayasimha-Vishnuvardhana and Raṇarāga-Vijayaditya preceded him. The period between Pulikesin I. and Vishnuvardhana may be put as 50 years, at the rate of 25 years a generation. Then Vishnuvardhana's rule starts in 500 A. D. It is said that Vishnubhaṭṭa Sōmayāji brought up Vishnuvardhana, and gave him the instruction and training necessary for a future ruler. After this he made penance, obtained the grace of Nandā bhagavati and extra-ordinary powers along with it. With this equipment Vishnuvardhana started the conquest of a number of rival powers like the Kadambas etc. and finally founded a kingdom. Twenty or twenty five years at least must have elapsed, before he could establish himself. This shows that Vishnuvardhana must have been born about 475 A. D. Vijayāditya I's wife was pregnant for six months when he was slain in battle by Trilōchana pallava. This dates the battle in 474 A. D. This indicates that Trilōchana flourished about the middle of the 5th century A. D. and not in the third quarter thereof. This would also be the date of his contemporary and rival Karikāla. On the supposition that this Chōla monarch had ruled for some time before invading the Pallava dominions, we may approximately assign him to the period 450—500 A. D. His varied and prolonged activity, constructive and administrative, so highly spoken of in the village *Kaifiyats* justifies the long[1] period of fifty years assigned to this monarch.

4. Many interesting details are available regarding Karikāla in Telugu literature, tradition and epigraphy. The Panditārādhya charitra of Pālkuriki Sōmanātha, the Nirvachanōttara Rāmāyana of Tikkana, and

the Navachōla charitra of Linga Kavi allude to the daming of the Cauvery by Karikāla, the disobedience shown by Trilōchana and his consequent humiliation. Echoes of Karikāla's rule in the Telugu country are to be found in the *Kaifiyats* of several villages. The records refer to his invasion of the ceded districts, his reign therein, his activity as a builder and administrator, and as the destroyer of forests. Kanchi and Warangal were the two capitals of Trilōchana. In two successive invasions Karikāla conquered both these towns. Since then the Pallava seems to have migrated to Dharanikōta. Some time after this incident the Chōla undertook the construction of a flood bank to the Cauvery and demanded the help of the Pallava as he did of several other feudatories.[10] When Trilōchana refused to obey, he was deprived of his third eye. This may be taken to indicate, probably a fresh invasion by Karikāla and the complete subjugation of the Pallava. To the Telugu country thus conquered the Chōla monarch did substantial good. He is famous for the reclamation of vast forest tracts and making them fit for cultivation. Near Kanigiri in the Cuddapah District, Karikāla cleared many forests, planted the village of Pottapi and named the neighbourhood as Pottapinādu. Many *agrahāras* were granted to Brahmins. A large number of tanks were constructed and many temples set up dedicated to the Puranic gods.

History of his rule.

5. We have so far traced the traditions in the Telugu country regarding Karikāla's conquest and rule therein. Inscriptions of later Andhra dynasties[11] give the names of Karikāla's father and descendants and mention some interesting facts about them. The Geneology of his family may be thus stated:—

His Family.

Jatā chōda
(Conquered the Drāvida Panchaka, ruled from Uraiyūr)
|
Karikāla I.
(The rival of Trilōchana)
|
Karikāla II. — Daśavarman — Tondamāna

Early Tamil literature also speaks of Karikāla his ancestors and descendants.[12] Illam-get-chenni, Karikāla, Māvan, are given in succession and

10. चरणसरोरुह विहितविलोचन त्रिलोचनप्रमुखाखिल पृथ्वीश्वरकारित कावेरीतीर etc.

11. S. I. I. VI. Nos. 650 & 628

12 Many stories are related about Karikâla in the Tamil poems Puranânuru, Porunârâṟṟuppadai, Silappadigâram, and Pattinappâlai.

Māvan is said to have had two sons Uḍayakumāra and Tondamāna[13] But for Udayakumāra, the Tamil list is in agreement with the Telugu one. The reason for the omission of Udaya in the latter and Dāsavarman and Karikāla II in the Tamil one is obvious. Probably in the wake of Karikāla great's conquests, his sons Karikāla, Tondamāna and Dāsavarman settled down in the Telugu country and thus became ancestors of the later Telugu Chōḍas. Thus they would be beyond the province of the Tamil poets. Tondamāna is said to have been the son of a Bāna princess. These Bāuas ruled in Vadugāvali or Āadhrapatha which is identical with Pākarāshtra. That the Chōlas continued to rule in the Telugu country after Karikāla the great is borne out by the mention in a later Telugu Chōda inscription, of the conquest of Pākarāshtra by Dāsavarman and his rule from Pottapi. The later branches of Pottapi, Koṇidena and Nellore trace their descent from Karikāla II and Dāsavarman.

His successors.

6. It is possible to fix approximately the time of Karikāla's successors in the light of Karikāla's own date and the geneology given, by the later Telugu Chōda inscriptions. Karikāla we have assigned to the period 450—500 A. D. His son Mahimāna alias Māvan may be taken to have flourished between 500 and 525 while Karikāla II, Tondamāna and Dāsavarman my be referred to 525—550.

Age of the Cholas

7. We have stated previously that Karikāla the great flourished till the close of the 5th century. The activity of his grandsons Dāsavarman and Karikāla II may be assigned to the middle of the 6th century. According to the Chinese pilgrim the Chōlas were ruling in the 7th century. The Mālepādu plates of Puṇyakumāra, one of the most famous members of this family, enable us to bridge the gap. Mr. Krishna Sastri the editor of these plates opined that "these plates may be roughly referred to about the end of the eighth century A.D."[14] But Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya disputes this conclusion and assigns on the basis of Chōla-Pallava synchronism and contemporary history, these plates to the middle of the Seventh century A. D.[15] There were four rulers before Puṇyakumāra to whose time the Mālepādu plates belong. Allowing about a century for these rulers, we have to locate the rise of this family in the middle of the sixth century. This we think is the utmost limit to which the date of the successors of Karikāla the great can be extended. Thus then we have a continuous account of the rule of the Chōlas in the Telugu country.

13. K. V. S. Iyer—Anc. Dec. p. 201.
14. E. C. XII, E. I. XI, 337.
15, MDS. Christ. Coll. Mag—Jan. 1929.

8. From the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to explain how these Chōlas of Rēnādu rose to fame. The Mālepādu plates tell us that Karikāla the great appropriated to himself the possessions of the three kings (Trai-rājya).[16] The same expression occurs in the records of the Chālukyas of Badāmi and Vikramaditya I is credited with the same achievement. According to Dr. Ramanayya the expression means the three kingdoms of the Pallavas which he locates round Kanchi, in the Guntur and Nellore Districts and in the Ceded Districts respectively. Nandivarman the earliest known member of the Rēnādu family, probably drove away the Pallavas from the Northern portion of the Cuddapah District and carved out an independent kingdom. The instance of his ancestor Dāsavarman conquering Pākarāshtra from the Bānas serves as a good parallel in this connection.

Rise of the family.

9. The geneology of this family is thus given in the Mālepādu plates.[17]

Krikāla I.
⋮
Nandivarman
├── Simhavishnu
├── Sundarānanda
└── Dhananjaya Varman
    └── Mahēndra Vikrama varman Chōla Mahārāja
        ├── Guṇamudita
        └── Puṇyakumāra

Stone inscriptions from the Cuddapah District bring to light the names of some members of this family:—

(1) Puṇyakumāra[18]
(2) Chōla Mahārājulu[19]
(3) Vikramāditya Chōla Mahārājulu[20]
(4) Śaktikumāra Vikramāditya[21]
(5) Satyāditunru[22]

16. Trairâjya-Sthitim=âtmasât-kritavatah (line 4) 17. E. I. XI p. 337.
18. E. R. 384 of 1904 and 299 of 1906
19. E. R. 466, and 517 of 1906, 352 of 1905. 405, 406, 408 of 1904.
20. E. R. 400 of 1905. 21. E. R. 393 of 1905. 22. Ibid.

The expression चोळमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर विक्रमादित्य शक्तिकोमार विक्रमादित्युल कोडुकुलु सत्यादितुन्रु is split up by Mr. Krishna Sastry and the passage is so interpreted as to mean a Chola Maharajadhiraja Vikramaditya, his son sakti komara and Grandson Satyaditya. This is unwarranted. The portion preceding 'कोडुकुलु' refers to one individual only and not to two and that person is Saktikomâra Vikramâditya.

No. 1 of the above list is obviously identical with the Puṇyakumāra of the Mālepādu plates. His father Mahēndra is called Chōla Mahārāja and is the most famous member of the Rēnādu family. No. 2 may be identified with him. The relation of No. 3. to the family of Puṇyakumāra is not definitely known. The names of the previous chieftains bear close resemblence to those of the Pallavas. Even during the time of Puṇya kumāra the influence of the Chālukyas of Badāmi over these rulers was very great. We may therefore presume that No. 3 above was closely connected with Vikramāditya I. of Badāmi and came immediately after Puṇyakumāra. Nos. 4 and 5 are father and son. Their names also indicate close Badāmi connections and so they may be located after No. 3 above. Then we have a tentative geneology of this family as follows:—

Geneology.

Karikāla the Great
⋮
Nandivarman
- Simhavishnu
- Sundarānanda
- Dhananjayavarman

(Sundarānanda and Dhananjayavarman)
- Mahēndra Vikrama Varman Chōla Mahārāja
  - Guṇamudita
  - Puṇyakumāra
    - Vikramādityachōla
      - Śaktikumara Vikramāditya
        - Satyāditunṛu.

10. No definite datum is available regarding the chronology of these rulers. We have already stated that in view of contemporary history Puṇyakumāra and his predecessors must be assigned to the period before the middle of the 7th century A.D. The names of these Rēnādu chieftains give us another clue. The names Nandivarman, Simhavishnu and Mahēndra Vikrama coming in close succession bear some affinity to the names of the Pallava kings of this period. Mahēndravarman I the Pallava had the surname Mahēn·dravikrama and this appears as the name of Puṇyakumara's father, Madana-vilāsa and Mārdavachitta the titles of Puṇyakumara remind us of Mahendravarman I's *birudas* Maṭṭavilāsa and Vichitrachitta. The name Guṇamudita assumed by Puṇyakumara's brother, resembles Guṇabhara another title of the Pallava king. We may therefore conclude that these

Chronology.

chōla chieftains were contemporaries and vassals of the Pallavas of Kanchi.[23] Of these Pallava kings Nandivarman I flourished between 525-550, Simhavarman 550-575, Simhavishnu 575-600 and Mahendravarman I 600-630 A.D.[24] Obviously then Nandivarman, Simhavishnu and Mahendra Vikrama of the Rēnādu line also belonged to these periods. Puṇyakumara's titles Madanavilāsa and Mārdavachitta indicate that he was either a contemporary of Mahendravarman I or a great admirer of that Pallava monarch. He was possibly an early contemporary of that Pallava king. In the Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription of Vasanta Pōri Chōlamahadevi, his queen, Puṇyakumāra is given the title *Prithvī Vallabha*.[25] Both the title and the suffix *Pōri* are distinctly Chalukyan and indicate Puṇyakumāra's connections with that family. Since the time of Trilōchana Pallava, the Pallavas were particularly bent upon retaining their control over southern Karṇāta. The fight between Trilōchana and Vijayāditya Chalukya who tried to conquer Karṇāta, very well illustrates this point. We have already stated that the Rēnādu family were vassals of the Pallavas. Probably the latter set them up in the Rēnādu country as a bulwark against the rapidly advancing power of the Chalukyas of Badami. In the first quarter of the seventh century Pulikesin II defeated the Pallavas and sabjugated the Cholas of Rēnādu so that they may guard his S.E. boundary. This conquest was cemented by a matrimonial alliance between Puṇyakumāra and Vasanta Pōri a princess of the Badami royal family.[26] Puṇyakumāra would then be a contemporary of Pulikesin II (608-642 A.D.) The name Vikramādityachōla given to Puṇyakumāra's son, indicates that this close connection with the Chalukyas was continued and that probably Puṇyakumāra's successor was a contemporary of Chalukaya Vikramaditya I (655-682) the son and successor of Pulikesin II. The son and grandson of Vikramadityachōla may be taken to have ruled within the next 50 years. This arrangement assigns the Rēnādu family to the period between the middle of the 6th century and the middle of the 8th. The following approximate chronology may be assigned to this family,

Nandivarman	550-575
Simhavishnu	575-600
Mahēndra Vikrama	600-625
Puṇyakumāra	625-675

23 Tribhuvanamalla Beta of the Kakatiya family, Tribhuvanamalla Mallideva chola, Trailokyamalla Mallidevachola of the later Telugu Choda families etc indicate the practice of the feudatories assuming the names and titles of their overlords.

24 Dubreuil—Ancient Dekkan p. 70.

25 E. R. 384 of 1904.

26 See Dr. Ramanayya in the Madras Christian College Magazine January 1929.

Vikramādityachōla	675-700
Śaktikumāra Vikramāditya	700-725
Satyāditunṛu	725-750

11. Few definite facts are known about the reigns of these rulers. What little history can be culled out about them has to be so done from contemporary history. Dāsavarman son of Karikāla II founded Pottapi and ruled from there till about the middle of the 6th century. Nandivarman continued the Chola rule in that neighbourhood. Simhavishnu must have come under the influence of the Pallava prince of that name. We have stated previously that a branch of the Pallavas existed in the Cuddapah district. They probably just recovered from the consequences of the humiliation inflicted on them by Karkāla the great and his sons. It is likely therefore that they encountered Karkāla's successors, during the course of their own expansion.

History of the Cholas.

12. Nothing is known about Sundarānanda the second member of this family. He figures as one of the ancestors of a Telugu-choda chief called Srīkantha chōda.[27] Nandivarman's third son was Dhananjayavarman. In some records from the Maddagiri taluk of the Tumkur district (Mysore) a certain Dhanamjaya Eṛiga figures as a Chōla and ruler of the Āḷvāḍi 600 district. Rice assigns this chieftain to the 8th century.[28] Probably he was in some way related to Dhanamjaya of Rēnādu. At Kalamaḷḷa in the Cuddapah District, there is an inscription which mentions a Dhanaṁjeyuṇdu who was ruling Rēnādu and Krishna Sastry assigns this record to the same period as the Mālepādu plates. In that case this chieftain would be identical with his namesake of the Mālepādu plates. We must note one interesting fact in this connection. After naming the three sons of Nandivarman the Mālepādu C. P. grant says "tē Putrānu-Pautryānubhūta-rājya-Sriyah" meaning that these enjoyed the kingdom from father to son. Apparently each of these three sons of Nandivarman had plenty of children and grand-children who all shared royalty. The Mālepādu plates only trace the history of Dhanamjayavarman's family because, Puṇyakumara the donor, belonged to it. We may therefore suppose that the history of the children of Simhavishnu and Sundarānanda and their children has been omitted in these plates. As such therefore Srīkantha

Nandivarma's Children.

27 E. R. 1908-09 pt. II para 14.

28 The Malepadu grant is addressed not only to the inhabitants of Punyakumara's own dominion but also to those of Hiranyarâshtra. This latter was a Pallava province. That it figures particularly in these plates may be taken to indicate its recent acquisition to the Renadu line, probably in the time of Mahendravikrama, who must have conquered it and become Chola Maharaja.

choda was a descendant of Sundarānanda, as there might have been several others like him. On this hypothesis, it might be presumed that while Dhanamjayavarman's successors ruled in Rēnādu proper, the descendants of his brothers settled down elsewhere and established other centres of rule like Āḷvādi, Nidugal, Haimavati etc. This might have happened as a result of the Pallava-Chalukya conflict and the defeat of the former.

13. That the Chōla Simhavishnu's son also bears the name and titles of Mahēndravarman Pallava, cointinues this relation between the two families. From the Mālepādu plates we learn that Mahēndravikrama of the Rēnādu family acquired the title of Chōla Mahārāja and that he was the lord of the Chōla, Pandya and Kērala countries. Though the latter fact may be dismissed as a mere boast, the former is of much significance. Mahēndra started as a feudatory of Mahēndravarman I. In the first decade of the seventh century Pulikēsin II of Badāmi defeated Mahēndra varman I who thereafter lost his hold on the Northern dominions in the Telugu country and retired to the South. This was a very good opportunity for the Rēnādu family. Mahēndravikrama threw off the Pallava yoke and not content with that, seized the Pallava province of Hiraṇyarāshtra[29] which lay between the Bay of Bengal and Rēnādu. He then assumed the title of Chōla Maharāja.

Mahendra-Vikrama.

14. The glory of the Rēnādu family reached its zenith in the time of Puṇyakumāra. The Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription calls him Chōla Maharāja and evidently he continued as an independent ruler. His other title "Prithvīvallabha" which is distinctly Chālukyan indicates that he came under the influence of the Badāmi rulers. His contemporary in that lineage was Pulikēsin II. Puṇyakumāra's queen was Vasanti Pōri Mahadēvi. The suffix Pōri is also to be found added peculiarly after the names of Chālukyan princesses. Dr. Ramanayya supposes that Vasanti Pōri belonged to the Badāmi royal family and was married to Puṇyakumāra by Pulikēsin II who thus found a means not only of extending his influence but also of safeguarding his Southern boundary.[30] The reign of Pulikēsin II ended disastrously. Narasimhavarman I. invaded Badāmi and killed Pulikēsin in 642. This prolonged rivalry between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas left Puṇyakumāra free to consolidate his position and the interval of thirteen years which followed Pulikēsin's death also left the Rēnādu rulers unmolested. The Mālepādu plates reveal to us the greatness of Puṇyakumāra. They are issued by

Punyakumâra

29. His son Punyakumara figures as ruler over this District in the Mâlepâdu plates E. I. XI. 337.

30. Madras Christian College Magazine January 1929.

him at the request of a subordinate called Koṭṭikuḷdarāja who according to Krishna Sastry might have been actually ruling Hiraṇyarāshtra. In his fifth regnal year, Puṇyakumāra granted to Kēśavaśarman, the village of Birapāṟu situated on the Southern bank of the river Suprayōgā in Hiraṇyarāshtra. The river Suprayōga figures as one of the boundaries of Uruvapalli in Muṇdarāshtra.[31] This territorial division figures as Mundainādu in some of the Tamil inscriptions of the Nellore District. Evidently then the river Suprayōga was situated in the Nellore District. Further an inscription from the Podili Division of the same District mentions a chieftain of the solar race and is worded in the same way as the inscriptions of the Rēnādu line. We may conclude from this that Puṇyakumāra's influence extended even into the Nellore District. This was possible at this time because the fortunes of the Pallavas were at a low ebb and Mahēndravarman I lost his hold over the Telugu country as a consequence of his defeat by Pulikēsin II. From the Chippili inscription whose paleography resembles that of the Mālepādu plates and which we have assigned to Puṇyakumāra's time, we learn that this king was ruling at Chirpuḷi.[32] This place may be identified with Chippili. It was probably the capital. It is also known that a certain Indrāla rebelled against Puṇyakumāra. He was probably put down. The Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription[33] tells us that while Puṇyakumāra was making a grant to Kēśavaśarman, his queen Vasanta Pōri Chōla Mahādēvi granted three hundred measures of land at Viripaṟiti to god Vasantisvara, evidently named after herself, of Tārumunṟi. The *ājnapti* or executor of the grant was a certain Māṟipidugu Raṭṭagudlu. This name is rather curious. Māṟipidugu is a surname quite familiar to this period. Many Pallava kings and their subordinates used it.[34] Krishna Sastry connects the word Raṭṭagudlu with the Sanskrit word *Rāshtrakūta* and explains it to mean "the headmen of a village."[35]

15. An inscription from Chilamkūru mentions a Vikramadiṭya chōla Maharāja[36] who, we have previously stated, might have been the son of Puṇyakumāra and a contemporary of Vikramaditya I of Badāmi. He was also closely related to the Badāmi house, through his mother Vasanta Pōrichōla Mahādēvi. His title Chōla Maharāja indicates his independent rule and this was possible because at that time the Pallavas were engaged in a

Vikramâditya.

31. I. A. V. P. 53.
32. E. R. 299 of 1905.
33. E. R. 384 of 1904.
34. E. I. XI. P. 342 FF. 7.
35. Ref. Ibid. P. 342—343.
36 E, R. 400 of 1904.

serious conflict with Badāmi and had hardly any time to interfere with the rule of the Rēnādu chieftains. We are also told that this chōla Vikramaditya's queen was a certain Eḷanchōḷa Mahādēvi. A subordinate of this ruler, a certain Uttamāditya Sāmantaka is also known. E. R. 403 of 1904 mentions a Vikramaditya Bempaṇādhiraja and his eldest son (prathama-priyaputra). Possibly this chieftain is identical with Vikramaditya chōla Maharaja above.

Saktikomâra Vikramaditya

16. Vikramaditya was succeeded by his son Śaktikomāra. Vikramaditya.[37] The Mālepādu stone epigraph which mentions his rule runs thus[38] — Sri Chōḷa-Mahārājādhirāja paramēsvara Vikramāditya Śaktikōmāra Vikramādityula koḍuk(uḷ)...... Śatyādituṇṛu—meaning Satyāditya son of Vikramāditya Śaktikomāra Vikramāditya who has the title Chōḷa Mahārājadhirāja paramesvara. Krishna Sastri breaks up the title and the name and evolves a Chōḷa Mahārājadhirāja Vikramāditya, his son Saktikomāra Vikramāditya and his grand-son Satyādituṇru.[39] This seems to be an unwaranted interference with the text of the inscription. There is nothing in it which gives the idea of a grandson. The word "kodukulu" occurs after the title and the name and makes the expression indivisible. There is nothing absurd in the name Vikramaditya Saktikomāra Vikramaditya. The first word indicates the chieftain's appreciation of the Badami ruler of that name and constitutes an honorific prefix. Then the name proper would be Saktikomāra Vikramaditya. The title *Chōla Mahārājadhirāja paramesvara* assumed by this chieftain is identical with the usual Chalukyan title *Sriman Mahārājadhirāja paramesvara* and might have been borrowed from the Badami house as an indication of closer affinity with it. We have already stated that Puṇyakumāra had another Chalukyan title viz., *Prithvīvallabha*. Saktikomāra's son Satyādituṇṛu was ruling over Rēnādu and Siddhi 1000. Probably the former conquered this Siddhi province and hence the title Chōla Maharājādhirāja.

Satyaditya

17. Satyādituṇṛu or Satyāditya was the last of the Rēnādu rulers. He does not posses even the title Maharāja. Still he is said to be ruling over the Districts of Siddhi 1000 and Rēnādu 7000. Possibly by his time, the Chōla power received a check either from the Chālukyas of Badāmi or numerous other chieftains like the Vaidumbas, the Gāṅgas and the Nolambas who were making advances in the Ceded Districts at this time.

37 E. R. 393 of 1904.
38 E. I. XI p, 345.
39 Idid p. 343 cf. p. 246.

18. After Satyāditya we have no information regarding the Rēnādu rulers. Evidently their power was destroyed in the 8th century A. D. Contemporary history throws some light on the fall of these Chōlas. The Vaidumbas who seem to have been their most powerful neighbours were fighting with the Nolambas. Somehow the Chōlas of Rēnādu seem to have been drawn into this deadly conflict with fatal results. An inscription from Nallacheruvulapalle in the Cuddapah district[40] mentions an Elachōḷa Mahārāja and is assigned to the 8th century A.D. We may suppose that this chieftain succeeded Satyāditya in Rēnādu. This record refers to a Mutturāju. Another inscription from Mudivedu[41] states that a certain Gandara-Mutrāja a Vaidumba general fought with the Lānkulas at Tiruvula and died. This battle of Tiruvula is known to have taken place in the reign of Vaidumba Mahārāja.[42] The reference to Mutrāja in the Chōla inscription is perhaps as a rival. From this it follows that Elachōḷa Mahārāja had to fight the Vaidumbas in the time of Vaidumba Mahārāja. We have no more traces of the Rēnādu rulers after Elachōḷa. They might have been dispossessed of Rēnādu and driven away. Towards the close of the 8th century fresh troubles arose. Gangūla Pallava who was ruling over the Anantapur, Bellary and Kurnūl districts appears to have fought the Rēnēnādu rulers.[43] Just at this time the Rāshtrakūṭas invaded South India under Dhruva.[44] During the time of Govinda III the Rāshtrakūṭa dominion is said to have extended up to the Tungabhadra in the South.[45] A number of records from the Anantapur district show that the scions of the Rēnādu family left their home and sought their fortunes elsewhere. At Hindupur there is a record which mentions a Sōla Mahārāja with the usual Telugu-chōla titles.[46] On grounds of Paleography it is referred to about the 10th century. Another speaks of a certain Aravala Mahēndra a subordinate of Chōla Mahārājah.[47] Meanwhile the Vaidumbas continued in their possession of Rēnādu. Ganda Trinētra is known to have ruled over it[48] as well as Manuja Trinētra his successor.[49] Ganda Sankali another Vaidumba ruler is said to have been an enemy of the *Sōlās*.[50] Sankali is placed in the 9th century and Ganda and Manuja Trinetras after him.[51]

Fall of the Cholas.

40 E. R. 495 of 1906.

41 E. R. 30 of 1923.

42. E. R. 439 of 1914.

43 E. C. XII.

44 Fleet—Cānarese dynasties p. 393.

45 E. I. VI p. 329.

46 E. R. 792 of 1918

47 E, R. 798 of 1917.

48 E. R 314 of 1923,

49 E. R. 342 of 1923.

50 E. R. 300 and 301 of 1923.

51 E. R. 1923 pt. II.

19. Thus ended the Rēnādu rulers after having flourished for about two centuries and a half from the middle of the 6th to the end of the 8th centuries. Besides Rēnādu which is identified with "the black soil country which roughly included large portions of the modern Districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool along the valley of the Kundēru river"[52] these Chōlas once ruled over Hiranya Rāshtra and the Siddhi 1000 Districts. The crest of these kings deserves special consideration. The seal of the Mālepādu plates bears on it, cut in bold relief an animal in the pouncing posture, with the mouth wide open, the tail sharply twisted above and profuse mane round the neck. It looks like a lion[53] The Chōlas of Tanjore had the tiger for their crest. Other records of the Rēnādu family from Peddamudiyam and Muddanur also have similar figures and these closely resemble the lions carved out at Śiyamangalam in the time of Mahēndravarman I. We have formerly stated that the early rulers of Rēnādu were subordinates of the Pallavas. Evidently then they borrowed the Lion crest also from the Pallavas along with Pallava names and, titles. Sir Waltor Elliot notices certain coins bearing on their obverse the same figure as the lion and tentatively attributes them to the Pallavas of Vēngi.[54] It is possible that these coins belonged to the Rēnādu rulers. Two more interesting points may be noted about these Chōlas. In their records we have the office of "Raṭṭadlu" mentioned This is seen in its various forms as — *raṭṭeḍlu*, *raṭṭaguṭṭu*, *raṭṭadlu*. Inscriptions of other times mention raṭṭagudi, raṭṭōdi, raṭṭadi and raṭṭadikamu. The form raṭṭaguṭṭu (singular) is closely allied to the Sanscrit word rāshtrakūta frequently appearing in inscriptions in the expression— rāshtrakūta Pramukhān sarvē Kutumbinah samāhūya etc. Anyhow the rāshtrakūta as the village headman seems to be common in the 7th and 8th centuries in the Telugu country. Another feature is that these Chōla records are of much importance to the student of philology. The Mālepādu plates and the pillar inscription and stone record at Ramēsveram give the archaic forms of many Telugu words.

Points of Interest.

52. E. I. XI. p. 343.

53. Ref. figure opp. p. 338 in E. I. XI.

54. Coins of Southern India — Pl. II. Nos. 49—54.

DATE OF THE JIRJINGI GRANT OF INDRAVARMAN.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A.

While turning over the leaves of Volume III of the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, I happen d to be attracted by the excellent facsimile of the Jirjingi copper-plates of the Eastern Ganga king Indravarman. The characters of the inscription at once appeared to me to belong to about the 6th century A. D. They are perfectly legible and are remarkably similar to the characters of the inscriptions of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the early Chalukyas. Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A.,L.T. who has edited the Jirjingi inscription, however, has remarked: "The alphabet is Telugu of the 9th or 10th C. A. D." (*loc. cit.*, p. 49)

Any date contained in the inscription should necessarily be referred to the Gāṅga Ēra, which "seems to have commenced in A. D. 496" (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, App. p. 201. note 1; *Ind. Ant.*, LXI. pp. 237 f.). Mr. Subba Rao says: "The latter half of 25th line contains the date in numerical symbols, viz., the 309th year of the augmenting reign..." *loc. cit.*, p. 50). If this reading of the date is correct, the grant is of course to be assigned to the beginning of the 9th century.

In line 25, Mr. Subba Rao has read: "*Pravardhamāna saṁ* (309)" and has informed us in a foot-note that he owes the reading of the date to Sri Lakshminarayana Harichandan Jagadev, Raja Bahadur of Tekkali.

1. After this paper was ready, Mr. R. Subba Rao, who originally edited the Jirjingi grant of Indravarman, has kindly informed me that my reading of the date of this grant, i. e., 30 (+) 9. was also suggested by himself in a slip (which however could not unfortunately be found in the volume I consulted) in the issue of the Journal that contained his interesting paper. (Vide Vol. III, part I, for July 1928). In his letter, Mr. SubbaRao has further written: "However, I feel that this Indravarma belongs to 39+496 or A. D. 535 and I have already stated so in our Journals. Vide Pol. History of E. Gangas." It is gratifying to learn that we are of the same opinion as regards the reading of the date of the Jirjingi grant as well as the age of the Eastern Ganga king named Indravarman, mentioned in this grant. (D. C. Sircar)

In his reply addressed to Mr. R. SubbaRao, M. A., Mr. D. C. Sircar states thus ; "Bühler's *Indische Paleographie*, you certainly know, is the most authoritative work on Indian Paleography and I have suggested a correction in that famous work on the strength of my (and, as you tell me, also your) reading of the date of the Jirjingi grant and the remark of Kielhorn on the date of

I turned to the facsimile and found two numerical symbols after *saṁ*. The first of them is the same figure deciphered by Būhler as 3 and reproduced in his *Indische Paleographie*, Tabel IX. column XV;[2] the second is the symbol for 9 (*Ib.*, column XI.) It may therefore appear possible that in writing the number 39 the writer of the Jirjingi grant adopted the present method of expressing ten-figures by unit-figures, instead of the old method which would require, in the present case 30 (+) 93.

But the लो symbol, which has been deciphered by Būhler as 3, seems really to represent the number 30. Būhler himself says: "30 = *la* oder *lā* (XIX—XXI, XXIII—IV, XXVI, B., Bh., K., P.) und mit absichtl. Diff. *rla* und *rlā* (XXV, K.)" (*loc. lit.*, pp. 75—76), and: "30 = *la*, wie in den MSS., mit geringen Differenzirungen" (*loc. cit.*, p. 76). Since the ल- symbol. with variations, is accepted to represent the figure 30, the लो— symbol of the Jirjingi grant can be taken as a variation of the regular ल— symbol, and as representing 30. We therefore read the date of the Jirjingi grant as "*saṁ* 30 (+) 9", that is, year 39, and assign the inscription to (A. D. 496+39=) A. D. 535. As regards the date of the Chicacole grant of Dēvendravarman (see above, Foot-note 1.; also Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, III. p. 133, on whose view Būhler depended), I think Kielhorn is right when he says: "The writer, in my opinion, has wrongly employed the numerical symbols for '8' and '30', instead of those for '80' and '3'." (*Ep. Ind.*, V. App. p. 91, note 7).

the Chicacole grant of Devendravarma. It is now, however, necessary for me to confess that my reading was originally suggested by you. I therefore append the enclosed footnote as the last word of my paper." (Editor.)

We are glad to state that Mr. R. SubbaRao's theory regarding the initial date of Ganga Era has received further support. He is the first to discover that it started in or about 494—495 A. D. (Editor)

2. ..."Jahresdatum 183 der Cicacole-Kupferplatte des Devendravarman durch 100 8 *lo* (=*loka*=3, vgl. § 35 A) ausgedruckt..." *Loc. cit.*, p. 75.

3. Transition from the old method to the new is evidenced by several inscriptions. In the Sankheda plate (*Ep Ind.*, II. p. 20 and Pl.) of the year 346, the number has been written by symbols for 3, 4 and 6, and not by 300, 40 and 6 in accordance with the old method. The year has been referred to the Kalachuri Era of 248 A. D. and the record is therefore to be assigned to the sixth century (A. D. 594) to which century the Jirjingi grant is also to be ascribed (A. D. 496+39=535 A. D.) The Tekkali inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII. p. 310 line 30, and pl.) of the Ganga king Indravarman has the date 154, which has been expressed there by symbols for 100,5 and 4. It is interesting to note that both the methods have been used here by the writer. The figure for 100 is written in accordance with the old method, but the decimal figure, which should, be 50 according to that method, is 5. In other words, the number 54 (in 154) has been written in the Tekkali inscription as we write it to-day.

THE HISTORY OF THE EASTERN GANGAS OF KALINGA.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

Chapter VI

(Continued from page 188 of Vol. VII, Part 3.)

Aniyanka Bhīma or Anañga Bhīma II. A. D. 1190—1198.

Two important Bhuvanēśvar stone inscriptions *of the time of this king* were published in Ep. Ind. Vol. VI. The first records the foundation of a Śiva temple called Mēghēśvara by Svapnēśvara Dēva, a relative and general of the Eastern Gañga king Anañga Bhīma II, Emperor of Tri-Kalinga. It gives the following geneology:—

Gautama (*Gōtra*)
⋮
Dvāradēva
|
Mūladēva
|
Ahirāma
|
Svapnēśvara (Donor) — Sūramadēvi = Rāja Rāja II

Atrēya (*Gōtra*)
⋮
Chōḍagañga
|
His son, Rāja Rāja II
|
His brother, *Aniyanka Bhīma.* II

During the reign of Aniyanka Bhīma, "a Moon of Gañga race and Lord of Tri-Kalinga", Svapnēśvara, the brother-in-law of his brother RājaRāja was "the General and Weapon of the kings of Gañga Lineage". He built the Mēghēśvara temple and several tanks and granted *Agrahārams* (villages) to learned Brahmaṇas. The inscription is not dated but from references to Rāja Rāja and his brother Anañga Bhīma, it may be said to belong to the *end of the 12th century A.D.*

The second record is still more interesting as it throws new light on the literary activities of the period. We learn that Bhaṭṭa Bhavaśēva was a learned Vedic Sage who knew the meaning of Kumārila's *Mimāmsa Tantravartika* and who was "a very Agastya to Bauddha Sea and Master of Samhita or Jyōtishśāstra, Tantra, etc, Author of Hōraśāstra like Varāhamihira, Codifier of laws, Commentator on Smṛitis, Author of a new Mimāmsa and Professor of Poetry, Medicine, Arms, Magic, etc. He had tanks dug in the country of Rādha to the south-west of the Ganges and temples built at Puri for Nārāyana and Vishṇu also."

Since this inscription also belongs to the close of the 12th century A.D., Bhaṭṭa Bhava must have lived in Orissa at that time and worked for the spread of Vedic learning and Vaishṇavite religious cult.

Chapter VII.

The Later Eastern Gañga Kings A. D. 1198—1434.

5. *Rāja Rāja III. A. D. 1198—1211.*

An account of his reign is known to us from the Stone Inscriptions found at Srīkūrmam,[174] the C. P. Grants of Narasimhadēva II,[175] Bhānudēva II[176] and Narasimhadēva IV,[177] *Ṭabaqāṭ-i-Nāṣirī* and *Mādalā pāñji.*

One insc. (No. 1273) records that a certain Dēvarāju gave, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, a gift of three *puṭṭis* of land, measured by *Jagadēvakōla*, for supply of castor oil to God Sreekūrmanātha. It is dated in Ś, 1127 or A. D. 1205 which is said to be equal to the 10th regnal or *anka* year of Anantavarmadēva. Evidently, this is another name for Rāja Rāja III whose 10th *anka* or 8th actual ruling year falls in A. D. 1205 as stated in the later C. P. grants. It therefore follows that his accession to the throne took place in A. D. 1198. Another incs. (No. 1317) records that a certain Ballu Perggaḍa endowed land for supplying oil to God Sreekūrmanātha in Ś. 1128 or A. D. 1206 which is said to be equal to the 11th regnal or *anka* year of Anantavarma. This will also prove that, since the 11th *anka* or 9th actual ruling year falls in A. D. 1206, his accession took place in A. D. 1198 only.

The C. P. Grants of Narasimha II, Bhānudēva II and Narasimha IV give interesting details about his reign. He was the son of Aniyanka Bhīmadēva by his chief queen Bāghaila Dēvi. The name of his wife, according to the plates of Narasimha IV, was Guṇa or Sadguṇa and according to those of Narasimha II, Mankuṇa of Chālukya Dynasty. He is credited with a reign of 17 years and since these are *anka* years, we get 14 actual ruling years for this king or, in other words, his reign came to an end in A. D. 1211. He is said to have possessed valour superior to that of his father and assumed the reins of government in his youth. He is also credited with having received the homage of several *sāmanta* or vassal kings. His marching war-horses and his raging war-elephants frightened even the *Dik-Gajas* (Elephants in the four Quarters). His Empire was surrounded by the seven seas. He was well-versed in the study of the Śastras and his fame spread in the world. He was like Karṇa in benevolence, Arjuna in power and Yudhisṭhira in truthfulness. He had the title of Rājēndra.

174. Nos. 1273 and 1317 in S. I. I. Vol. V.
175. J. A. S. B. Vol. LXV, pp. 229—271.
176. *Orissa in the Making*, pp. 201—204.
177. J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIV, pp. 128—154.

From the *Tabaqāṭ-i-Nāṣirī*,[178] we learn that the first Moslem invasion of Jāgnagar or Orissa took place in this reign in 601 A. H. or A. D. 1205. Briefly stated, two brothers named Muhammad Sheran and Ahmad Sheran who were Khilji Amirs in the service of Muhammad bin Bakhtyār Khilji, Sultan of Dehli, were sent by him against Lakhnor (Bengal) and Jājnagar (Orissa). But, on hearing of the death of the Sultan in a campaign against Kamarup (Assam) and Tibbet, in A.H. 601 or A. D. 1205, they returned to Devkot without conquering Orissa. Probably, the strength and valour of the Emperor of Orissa had also much to do with their retreat without realising their purpose.

6. *Anañga Bhīma Dēva III. A. D. 1211—1238.*

After the death of Rāja Rāja III, his son Anañga Bhīma, born to Mankuṇa Dēvi of Chālukya Dynasty, came to the throne in A.D. 1211. He had the title of *Tri-Kalinganātha* or Lord of Tri-Kalinga as stated in the Chātēśwara inscription[179] which further records that his Brahmin minister called Vishṇu fought against the Lord of Tummāṇa (Bilaspur Dt. of C. P.) and the Yāvanas (Moslems) of Bengal. A detailed account of his reign is known to us from the C. P. Grants of Narasimha II and IV and Bhānudēva II, two stone inscriptions found in the Drākshārāma Temple,[180] two inscriptions found in the Simhāchellam Temple,[181] five inscriptions found in the Sreekūrmam Temple,[182] three inscriptions found in the Kṛittivāsa Temple at Bhuvanēśwara,[183] *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, *Mādalā-pāñji* and *Gañg vamśānucharitam*. His reign is very important because from this time onwards the Gañga History becomes clearer and more detailed. His Empire spread from the River Ganges in the North to the River Godavari in the South. His inscriptions are found both in Utkala and Andhradēsa and the former show how, when the Moslems tried to attack Orissa with a view to conquer it, he and his ministers defeated them. Dakshina Kōsala or Chattisgarh District of C. P. which was ruled by the Haihayas was also conquered by them and the Haihayas entered into marriage relations with the Gañgas. The construction of temples, pleasure—houses, roads and tanks, the conquest of the Moslems

178. Translated by H. G. Raverty and published by As. Soc. of Bengal. Vide pages 573—74.

179. J. A. S. B. Vol. LXVII, pp. 317—327.

180. Nos. 1329 and 1360 in S. I. I. Vol. IV.

181. Nos. 1180 and 1194 in S. I. I. Vol. VI.

182. Nos. 1276, 1282, 1284, 1290 and 1337 in S. I. I. Vol. V.

183. Pp. 261—262 in R. D. Banerji's History of Orissa.

and the extension of the Empire and lastly the performance of the golden *Tulā-purusha* or weighing ceremony by Anaṅga-Bhima, all these show that the Empire was steadily growing powerful and prosperous.

The C. P. inscription of Narasimhadēva II records that king Anaṅga Bhīma was noted for great valour and personal beauty. The strength of his arms rooted out all enemies. The evils of *Kali* Age were put down by him. He was fond of deep meditation and devotion to God. His liberality surpassed that of *Kāmadhēnu* and he was regarded as another Hiraṇyagarbha. He had the three-fold royal powers and observed the *Tulā purusha dāna* (the ceremony of weighing his person against gold or silver and presenting the same to Pandits). He granted several pieces of land to pious Brahmaṇas. The *Mādalā-pānji* states that the temple of Jagannath was built by this king but the inscriptions of Narasimha IV ascribe it to Chōḍagaṅga. M. Chakravarti suggests that while the main temple was built by Chōḍagaṅga, the side temples, walls, etc were constructed and the systematisation of ceremonies and *sēvās* (religious services) was made in Anaṅgabhīma's time and hence in course of time, the former also was ascribed to him.

N. N. Vasu, who edited the C.P. grant of Nṛsimha II quotes the Chaṭēśvara inscription of Anaṅgabhīma II and states: "The Vaikhānasas could not even by their most austere penance comprehend the Omnipresence and all pervadingness of Viṣṇu to the extent to which the idea was realised by the Tumghāna king (i. e. Tughril-i-Tughan Khan) when he began, apprehending Viṣṇu here and there, to look around through extreme fear, while fighting on the bank of the Bhīma, at the skrits of the Vindhya hills and on the sea-shores. He alone fought against the Muhammadan king, and applying arrows to his bow killed many skilful warriors. His heroism transcends description."

It is certain that Anaṅgabhīma and his son Nṛsimha I fought several battles against the Muhammadans and conquered Rādha and Varēndra countries, although the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* states to the contrary and alleges that Orissa was paying tribute to the Sultans of Bengal. M. Chakravarti states, in his *Chronology of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings of Orissa*, that Vishṇu, the Brahmin minister of Anaṅgabhīmadēva fought for him with the Lord of Tummāṇa and with the Yāvanas and contends that Tummāṇa could not be the same as Tumghana, that the lord of Tummāṇa could not be Tughrilkhan but only the Chēdi king and that the war took place in or about A.D. 1212. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* mentions that the Sultan of Bengal, Ghiyāṣuddin Iwāz Shah, took tribute from Bengal, Assam, Tirhut and Orissa but R. D. Banerji very rightly states that this statement is open to doubt as the Chāṭēśvara and Bhuvanēśvara inscriptions record the conquests of the king against the Muhammadans. He

also mentions that the war took place in A.D. 1220 but the earlier date given by Chakravarti is more probable.

There are several stone inscriptions of his reign which also throw much new light on his reign. Thus, an inscription (No. 1329), found in the Drākshārāma temple, gives all the sovereign titles of the king inclu ding *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Paramēśvara* and *Trayivasundarāsamuddha rana* and states that his father also like himself had the title of Tri-kalingēśvara (Lord of three Kalingas). It belongs to the 8th year of the king's rule and records that a flower garland weighing 40 *gadyas* was granted to God Bhīmēśvara of Drakshārāma The king is called Aniyanka Bhīmadēva *Rauta*. Another inscription (No. 1360) records a gift to the same god made by Aniyanka Bhima's commander-in-chief in Ś. 1152 or A.D. 1230.

An inscription (No. 1180) dated Śaka year 1138, found in the Simhachelam temple, records that that year is equal to the 7th anka or the 5th actual ruling year of the king. This would make Śaka 1133 as the first year of his rule. The inscription records that a minister called Saptaya made a gift of five Nandi *Māḍas* towards a daily offering to God Nṛsimha for the long life, health and wealth of his mother, Sivarāṇi who was related to the kings of the Ganga Dynasty and who was called *Kalinga Saraswati* (Goddess of Learning Incarnate) and who was devoted to the Holy feet of the illustrious Purushōttama. Another (No. 1194) dated Ś. 1143 records the gift of a perpetual lamp to God Nṛsimha by Chōḍagañga II, son of Anantavarma Aṭṭahāsadēva. This shows how the collateral branch of the royal family, descended from Chōḍagañga's brother, was still ruling in Kalinga subject to the control of the Imperial dynasty.

An inscription (No. 1276) found in Sreekurmam Temple dated Ś. 1155 relates how a servant of Anaṁka Bhima Ravutu made a gift of two lamps to Sreekurmanātha. Another (No. 1282) dated Ś. 1139 belonging to the 9th anka or 7th actual ruling year of the king confirms that his accession took place in Ś. 1133 or A.D. 1211 and that he was called Anantavarma Rautadēva. The inscription records the very interesting fact that a sum of 5 *Malla māḍas* was granted for burning a perpetual lamp with gingily oil in the temple by a certain Brahmin lady called Bhīmāvati. Another (No. 1183) dated Ś. 1133 or A. D. 1211, the year in which the king ascended the throne, refers to the gift of a land by a certain Kaṇḍama Raja who was a Viceroy and who belonged to the Haihaya dynasty. The limits of his Empire extended to the River Ganges (in the north) and his country was surrounded (on the east) by the sea. This only proves that the Haihayas who were, like the Kadambas, connected by marriage ties with the Gañgas extended their power by ruling over the northern provinces of the Gañga Empire. Another (No. 1284) dated Ś. 1157 or A.D. 1235 records the gift of a land in the village of Tonengi on the

occasion of a solar eclipse by *Srīkarana* Mahānātha *Sēnāpati* who was the *Dandādhikāri* and *Senādhyaksha* of Ananga Bhīma *Nrpati*. It is important to note that Mahānātha was a very powerful official in as much as he was the illustrious private Secretary to the king, Commander-in-chief of the army and the Supreme Magistrate of Tri-kalinga *mandalam*. Another inscription (No. 1290) gives most important details of his reign. It is dated in Ś. 1152 which is said to be equal to the king's 22nd *anka* or 18th actual ruling year. But since the accession took place in Ś. 1133 and since the 18th ruling year would fall in Ś. 1150, we have to correct the date of the inscription, The king is styled as Anantavarma. The subject matter of the inscription is as follows:—

In the presence of the illustrious great sage Narasimha Rāmēśvara Andāri, the priest of the Temple of Madhukēśvara lying in Kalinga Mandala Nagaram in the district of Kulavantani (Parlakimedi), the Nāyaks subordinate to Adityanāyak of Simhapura in the district of Varāhavantani (Chicacole), the Nāyaks subordinate to Nārepa Nāyak of Şrīkurmam,, the Nāyaks subordinate to Gamgama Nāyak of Ippili, the Nāyaks subordinate to Vishnama Nāyak of Tāmaracheruvu, the Nāyaks subordinate to Bhīma Nāyak of Sammaka Pampu, the Nāyaks subordinate to Mallapa Nāyak of Erada Pampu, the Nāyaks subordinate to Erna *mandalika* of Dharmavur, the Reddi Chiefs of Bhōgapur, the Circle subordinate to the Mahājanas of Tāditorti gave to the Nāyaks of the village of Ponnadiya certain flower gardens but, owing to certain quarrels that arose between the villages of Ponnadiya and Bomtalākota regarding their boundary limits, examined the concerned inscriptions of both places and fixed the boundaries by setting up stones in the presence of Aniyamka Bhīma Rautadēva, Narasimha Muni, Devotees of Sreekurmam, Vaishnavas of Tirupati, Government officers, and Nāyaks of Kalinga Province and resolved that, in case the people of Bomtalakota disputed the boundary limits or harmed the interests of Ponnadiya or removed the gardens, all their properties would be taken possession of and they would be exiled and deprived of their occupations. They would also be socially excommunicated. To observe these, they swore by their King and God Jagannādha.

It is curious to note that there were serious boundary disputes between villages as in Ancient Greece and the Nāyaks of various places had to interfere in the presence of their King and religious Pontiff and settle them much as the Amphictionic Council of Delphi settled such religious disputes between villages in Greece. The irreligious and impious act committed by the villagers of Bomtalakōta probably necessitated the taking up of such stern measures—political, economic and social—by so many Nāyaks of the South Ganjam District against the offending village. In this respect also, a good comparison is afforded with similar

conditions prevailing in Ancient Greece in the 4th century B.C. A confederacy of the military chiefs of several places against a single offending village for a religious cause, with the knowledge and approval of the King and Pontiff, was formed in a curiously effective manner with more religious sanction behind it and it is doubtful whether another similar instance can be found in any other part of India at the time (A.D. 1230). The determination to carry out the sanctions was sealed effectively by their swearing by God and Crown and similar instances of oath-taking are found mentioned in the inscriptions at Drakshārāma and they were made by certain feudatory chiefs of the Chalukya kings.

From the Bhuvanēśvar inscription,[184] we learn that the king had a daughter called Chandradēvi who married Paramārdhidēva of the Haihaya dynasty. He helped the king's son Narasimha Dēva I in his wars against the Muhammadans and died while fighting. His wife Chandradēvi erected in A. D 1278, in the reign of Narasimhadēva's son, Bhānudēva I, a temple at Bhuvanēśvar. It is learnt that the Rāja Rāṇi temple, situated on the banks of Binduṣāgaram tank, was the temple built by her where she was offering worship to Baladēva, Kṛṣṇa and Subhadra, the deities of Vishṇu cult set up there. From and after the reign of Anantavarma Chōḍa Gañga, owing probably to the change of capital to Cuttack and also to the practice of Vishṇu cult there, the Kalinga Gañga Rājas began to bestow more attention upon and endow more liberally the Vaishnavite temples in the Empire as in Srīkurmam, Simhāchellam, Jagannādham and Bhuvanēśvaram. The Mukhalingam temple does not show any sign of royal patronage now. No more royal donors or princes endowed it as before. All attention was turned to Sreekurmam, Simhāchellam and Jagannātham which became, along with Kōṇārka where a Sun temple was built by Narasimha I, strong Vaishnavite centres from the middle of the 12th century A.D. However, it must be said to the credit of these kings that they did neither persecute nor completely neglect the Saivite faith.

The Mādalāpānji or Oriya chronicle,[185] preserved in the Puri Temple, states that this king was the most powerful among the later Gañga kings and he got the lands surveyed and assessed and made liberal grants to Temples and Brahmins. The inscriptions, found in the temples of Kṛttivāsa in Bhuvanēśvara and Bhimēśvara in Drākshārāma, state that the king had several different names like Aniyanka Bhīma, Ananga Bhīmadēva, Ananga Bhīmaveera, Srī Bhīmadēva, Anantavarma, and Trikalinganātha. It is probable that the Aniyanka Bhīma Temple,

184 J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XV, p. 280 and EP, Ind. Vol. XIII, p. 150,
185 Notes from Mâdalâ Pânji, J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XIII pp. 10—27.

still found in a good state in Mukhalingam, the former capital of the Gañga kings, was really built by this king after his own name. Such a practice was found among the Chōlas, the E. Chālukyas and the Kakatiyas at that time. Probably, the Sōmēśvara temple in the same place which is now in a dilapidated condition but which contains some of the best artistic pieces of sculpture was also built at the same time.

One of the three inscriptions found in the temple of Kṛittivāsa belongs to Ś. 1145 or A. D. 1224 and another to the 4th year after the king's *abhishēka* (coronation).[186] Nothing more is known about them.

The Chāṭēśwara inscription, found in Krishnapur, Cuttack District[187] is undated, "and records the erection of a temple of Śiva by one Govinda, a Brahmin of the Vatsa *gōtra*. According to this inscription, either Govinda or Ananga Bhima erected several pleasure-houses at Purushottama or Puri and performed the golden *Tulāpurusha* ceremony at that place. He also constructed many roads and excavated tanks."

After a long and glorious rule of 34 *anka* years, he died in A.D. 1238, leaving the throne to his son, Narasimha I born to Kasturādēvi.

The *Mādalā Pānji* or *Maddila Putti* (Manuscript-bundle resembling a drum) which includes all kinds of records such as inventories of articles and ceremonials relating to the temple of Jagannath and annals of the kings that ruled over Orissa from the time of *Kaliyuga*, is of different varieties, some dating from the Mughal period and some from the time of Ramachendradev III, the Rāja of Khurda who ruled from A. D. 1810 to A. D. 1857. They do not give a correct history of the Gañga kings[188] though, from the time of the accession of Kapilēndradēva, they give reliable history. They give references to the invasion of the country by Yavanas in two different ages—one earlier and the other later.

186. J. A. S. B. Vol LXXII, p. 118.

187. R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa*, p. 262.

188. The 44th and the last king of the Kesari dynasty called Suvarna Kesari died childless in A. D. 1132 when his Governor Vasudeva Bâhampati helped the invasion of Chódagañga who founded his dynasty. Its geneology and chronology are given as follows:—

1.	Chódaganga	1131- 51	10.	Gatikamta Narasimha	1317-29
2.	Gamgésvara	1151- 60	11.	Kapila ,,	1329-30
3.	Ekjatakamdeva	1160- 71	12.	Samkhabhasura	1330-37
4.	Danmañádeva	1171- 75	13.	Samkha Vasudeva	1337-61
5.	Anamgabhavadeva	1175-1202	14.	Bali ,,	1361-82
6.	Raja Rajesvarideva	1202- 37	15.	Veera ,,	1382-1401
7.	Lamgulya Narasimha	1237- 81	16.	Kavi ,,	1401-13
8.	Kesari ,,	1281-1307	17.	Nemgatamta	1414-29
9.	Pratap ,,	1307- 17	18.	Netra Vasudeva	1429-52

According to Dr. Fleet,[189] the early Yavana conquest stands for the Gupta conquest (A D. 321—476) and the later to the Moslem invasions from the 12th century down to the final conquest by Suleiman of Bengal in A.D. 1568.

The *Gaṅgavaṁśānucharitam* is also an unpublished manuscript work[190] of doubtful value to the Gaṅga History. It consists of eight *Pariśchēdas* (chapters). It is related in the form of a dialogue between two *Vaitāḷikas*, Viz, Vidyārṇava and Līlāvati who belonged to the country lying to the south of the Godavari and who started on a pilgrimage to Puri or Jagannath. At that time, probably during the middle of the 19th century, the reigning king at Gudārikaṭakam was Purushottama alias Anaṅga Bhīma. Certain places like Padmanābhapuram and Bhīmapuram, where learned Brahmins from South India were given *agrahārams*, (villages) were also visited by them.

The work gives the Geneology and Chronology of both the Cuttack and Guḍāri-katakam Lines which cannot be believed. In the Main or Cuttack Line, there were, it seems, 6 Devas followed by 6 Nṛsimhas followed by 6 Bhānus!!!

The Geneology and Chronology are given as follows !!!

		years			years
1	Chudaṁga or Chōḍagaṅga	74	10	Kavi Nrisimha	25
2	His son, Rāja Rājēśwara	9	11	Akaṭā ,,	24
3	His brother, Atiradha	7	12	Pratāpa ,,	13
4	Kāmadēva	7	13	Nissaṁka Bhānu	24
5	Madanakāmadēva	15	14	Aātula ,,	27
6	Anaṅga Bhīma	...	15	Veera ,,	26
7	Narasimha	18	16	Ruchika ,,	(months) 13
8	Bhīma Nrisimha	18	17	Madhupa ,,	33
9	Purushottama ,,	10	18	Kajjala ,,	...

The 6th king Anaṅga Bhīmadēva is stated to have finished building the *Prāsāda* or boundary wall of Jagannath temple, in *Aṅka kshōṇi śaśāmkēmdu sammitē śaka vatsarē* (Ś. 1115 or A. D. 1193). But this date does not tally with that of the 6th king as we get it from the accounts given in the later C. P. Grants. The 18th and last king Kajjala Bhānu went to conquer the four quarters and during his absence, the throne was seized by Kapilendra who established his own Line. He was made king in Cuttack. The Gaṅgas therefore left Orissa (Oḍradēśa) and became inhabitants of Dakshiṇa (Deccan) with Guḍārikatakam as

189 Ep. Ind. Vol. III, pp. 323—340.

190. Extracts from it were supplied to me by Mr. M. R. Kavi. M.A. Vide article on the same in J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, pp. 250—58.

their capital. After the rule of some princes there, Svarṇa Bhānu became king and his geneology is given as follows:—

In the Line of Kajjala Bhānu.
⋮
Svarṇa Bhānu
|
Kālashamḍa
|
Chudaṁga — Harimaṇi
|
Nrisimha
|
Anamta
|
Vāsudēva — Peetāmbara
|
Purushōttama alias, Anañga Bhīma, who was the contemporary of Vidyārṇava, the hero of the work.

7. *Narasimha I. A.D. 1238—1264.*

Narasimha I was the son of Anañga Bhīma and Kasturādēvi. During his father's reign, he helped him in his wars against the Mohammadan Sultans of Bengal and Delhi and after his death, he succeeded to the throne and strengthened his army still further and put to flight the Moslems. His reign is more glorious than that of his father in as much as he not only successfully defended his frontiers against all enemies but even took the offensive and invaded Bengal in the north and molested Lakhnauti (Birbhum District of South Bengal). This is proved by his own inscriptions and those of Narasimha II and IV which will be examined in detail now. Mohammadan works also throw much interesting light.

The Gañga Empire may be said to have reached its zenith during this reign. The Mohammadans were defeated in the north and the provinces of Midnapur. Howrah and Hugly (Rādha and Varēndra) were added to the Gañga Empire. In the west, the Chatisgarh and Bilāspur Districts of C. P. were comprised in the Gañga Empire, the Haihayas of Tummāṇa and the Chedis of Kōsala having been subdued and made friendly by marriage ties. In the south, the Reddis and the Kākatiyas were kept in check and their invasions were warded off. It was also the period when great literary works were patronised and lands and *agrahārams* were granted to Temples and Brahmins. Temple-building reached its perfection as seen in the construction of Konārka temple. Thus, the reign which is both long and glorious, may be said to be the

period of Golden Epoch in the History of Hindu Administration of Kalinga Empire.

The source—materials for this reign are varied and copious Stone inscriptions, found in the temples of Sreekurmam[191], Simhāchellam[192], Bhuvanēśvar[193] and Chātēśvar give interesting and detailed accounts of the religious, political and economic conditions of the times. C. P. Grants of Narasimha II, Bhānudēva II and Narasimha IV give details of his career, character, temple-building and foreign conquests. Vidyādhara's Alañkāra work, *Ekāvali* shows how great poets flourished in Narasimha's reign. Mohammadan works like *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*[194] and *Tārīkh-i-Fīrcz Shāhi*[195] give detailed accounts of the warlike relations between the Gañga Kings and the Moslem Sultans of Bengal and Dehli.

From these sources, we get the following account of his reign:—

Sreekurmam inscriptions (Nos. 1261, 1264, 1265, 1268, 1291. 1294, 1297 and 1305) record the fact that his *actual ruling year* fell in Ś. 1160 or A.D. 1238. For instance, No. 1261 expressly states that Ś. 1176 corresponds to the king's reigning *anka* year 19 or actual ruling year 16. In other words, his accession took place in Ś. 1160 or A. D. 1238. No. 1264 records that Ś. 1178 corresponds to regnal *anka* 23 of actual ruling year 19 or his accession took place in Ś. 1160. It states that a certain Bhāgalla Dēvi endowed for her own merit a perpetual lamp to Sreekurma *Nātha* (Lord) and that she was the daughter of Ajjakēśava Deva of Ceylon. It is interesting to find that from distant Ceylon people visited the God and made gifts to Him. No. 1265 records that Ś. 1179 corresponds to reigning *anka* year 24 or actual ruling year 20. The king is called Veera Sri Nara Nārasimha, a title expressing prowess and strength. The inscription states that a certain lady made gifts of coins for lighting and other services to God. No. 1268 records that S. 1174 corresponds to the king's 17th *anka* or 14th actual ruling year and states that a certain Erapōtaseṭṭi granted 5 Gaṇḍa Māḍas (coins) for burning a lamp and 6 small Gaṇḍa Māḍas for watering 6 cocoanut trees and lesser amounts for other offerings. No. 1291 records that Ś. 1168 corresponds to the king's 11th *anka* or 9th actual ruling year agd states that the king was called Anantavarma Dēva—a title generally found among the Gañga kings. In that year, Sri Nṛsimha, a great sage, endowed the God of Sreekurmam for festival, offerings

191. Nos. 1188, 1231, 1252, 1261, 1264, 1265, 1268, 1272, 1291, 1294, 1297 and 1305 in S. I. I. Vol. V.

192. Nos. 1142 and 1207 in S. I. I. Vol. VI.

193. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XV, p. 280.

194. Eng. Translation by H. G. Raverty. Also, by Elliot and Dowson, History of India, Vol. II,

195. Ziauddin Barni's Account, translated by Elliot and Dowson, History of India, Vol. III,

etc., ten Malla Māḍas. No. 1296 records that Ś. 1167 corresponds to the king's 10th *anka* or 8th actual ruling year. No. 1297 records that Ś. 1184 corresponds to the king's 31st *anka* year or 25th actual ruling year. No. 1305 records that Ś. 1167 corresponds to the king's 10th *anka* or 8th actual ruling year. These inscriptions thus prove that the king's accession took place in Ś. 1160 or A. D. 1231 and record gifts of coins made to the God by private persons.

There are other inscriptions of the time of this king which mention the names of the kings' officials and their gifts.

For instance, No. 1188 records the gifts of a *Sāmanta* or Vassal chief called Deo Sāhasamalla who refers to his overlord, king Pratāpa Veera Narasimha, son of Anañga Bhīma and states that in Ś. 1172 or A. D. 1250, certain gifts were made for the victory of the king's arms by him. The donor was in charge of *Dakshiṇadēśa* or Southern Province. The gifts, made to the God, consisted of 103 Gaṇḍa Māḍas (gold coins, and 30 *puṭṭis* of land in the village of Sālihundam (near Kalingapaṭṭaṇam) yielding 90 *garses* (*A Garse* yields 500 measures of grain). He gave certain offerings for worship of God and 50 Mōdas (cows) for supplying ghee for burning of 2 lamps, and some gold coins (*Māḍas*) for the maintenance of 30 *Dēvadāsis* (Dancing girls), 6 Drummers, etc. The inscription also records various minor gifts of coins and grain and other offerings made to Dāsa Naik, the Executor of the grant, the Sreevaishṇavas or Donees and the people who supply flowers, *sandal*, etc. to the God. At the end of it, it is stated that the Donor was the Minister of the Eastern Gañga Dynasty.

No. 1231 records how a certain sage called Vāsudēva *yati* surrendered in Ś. 1177 or A.D. 1255 certain lands he obtained from king Narasimha's father Ananga Bhīma into the treasury of the God for the benefit of 30 Vaishṇavite Brahmins.

Nos. 1251 and 1252 record that in Ś. 1186 or A.D. 1264, Narahari Tirtha endowed three *Māḍas* into the God's Treasury for the happy delivery of Dēvakidēvi on the occasion of Jayanti festival of God. This Narahari Tirtha was the Governor of Kalinga during the time of this king's son, Bhānudēva I, The year of grant, viz., Ś. 1186 or A.D. 1264 is the last ruling year of this king and the first of his son Bhānudeva I.

No. 1267, dated Ś. 1176, records that a certain Prāmuṇḍa *Sēnāpati* made gifts for the worship of Svapnēśvara of Sreekurmam for the long life of Anañga Bhīma Rautudēva. Since the record is dated in the reign of Narasimha I, long after the death of his father Anañga Bhīmadeva III, it may be presumed that Anaṁga Bhīma, referred to in it, is the son of Narasimha I. It may be another name for Bhānudeva I or it may probably be the name of an elder son of Narasimha I who never succeeded to the throne.

No. 1272 which belongs to Ś. 1163 or 4th *anka* year of the king records that Rāmagovinda, the Great Commander of the king, endowed for the burning of two perpetual lamps 10 *malla māḍas.*

No. 1287 dated Ś. 1163 records that, on the occasion of *Vishu Samkrāmti*, a certain Erapōtu Nāyaka, son of Sūru *Mahāsēnāpati* (Commander-in-chief) made certain gifts to Sreekūrmēśvara.

No. 1299 records that in Ś. 1163 a certain *Sreekaraṇa* Sūru *Mahāsēnāpati*, referred to in No. 1287 above, endowed the God with 18 *Gaṇḍa māḍas* for various kinds of offerings and puddings.

Dr. E. Hultzsch edited[196] four pillar inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukyan chiefs of Srīkūrmam and of these, two relate to the reign of Narasimha's son Bhānudēva I and two to those of Bhānu's grandson Bhānudēva II. The former two record the grants of Vijayāditya II and Purushōttama, both sons of Rāja Rāja who was the son of Vijayāditya I (a descendant of Rāja Rāja Narēndra) and who acted as Minister to Veera Nṛsimha I. The two records are dated Ś. 1195 and 1199 respectively and numbered 1234 and 1251 in S. I. I. Vol. V (Srīkūrmam Inscriptions). From the C. P. grant of Nṛsimha II, we learn that his father Veera Bhānu I married Jakalladēvi of the Chalukyan race and she was probably a relative of Vijayāditya. Veera Bhānu's father, Nṛsimha I had Rāja Rāja, the Eastern Chalukyan chief of Srīkūrmam, as his Minister and probably the Eastern Chalukyan cniefs of Yelamanchili and Pittapur were also subordinate to the Gañga Emperors and related to them by marriage ties.

The Simhāchelam Temple Inscriptions similarly throw much interesting and new light on the history of this reign. No. 1207 records a grant of 4 Malla Māḍas for a perpetual lamp by Gañga Dēvi Mahādēvi, the wife of Aṇiyamka Bhīmadēva in the 22nd *anka* year of Veera Srī Narasimha Rāutu Dēvara. The year corresponds to the 18th actual ruling year of Narasimha I, i.e. A.D. 1177. The later C. P. Grants mention Kasturā Dēvi as the wife of Anañga Bhīma and Narasimha I as their son. It is therefore probable that the present Donor is another wife of Anañga Bhīma and a step-mother of Narasimha I. No. 1142 records that, in Ś. 1190 or A.D. 1268, i.e., four years after the death of Narasimha I, his Commander Akhtāyi carried out certain construction—works in the Simhāchellam Temple as per orders already given by his king Narasimha. It seems he was instructed to construct in black granite—stone a *vimānam* (chariot) for the God and so he did it accordingly and further built a *Kalaśa* (circular pinnacle at the top of the temple), a *Mukha Manḍapam* (front hall), a *Nāṭya Manḍapam* (dancing hall) and a *Tiruchuṭṭu Mālya* (circular corridor). Further, for supplying flowers for the daily worship of the God

196 Ep. Ind. Vol. V, pt. I, pp. 31—32.

Sree Narasimha Nātha Dēvara, he acquired one *Puṭṭi* of land in Adavaram Tank for flower garden and six *Puṭṭis* of land for the four gardeners (Dāsaras) and the two flower-garland makers behind the Naruva tank with his honestly—earned cash of 47 Gaṇḍa Māḍas which he duly deposited in the Treasury of the Temple. For executing and examining these gifts, he appointed two persons towards whose maintenance also he set apart one *Puṭṭi* of land in Kummarapalli and one in Oḍḍādi. It was ordained that these charitable gifts should be perpetually protected by the illustrious Vishṇu. The Grant was written by Perumāndi *Pandit.*

From this last inscription, we learn that the various stone sculptures, still found in the Simhachellam Temple premises, were built, at the instance of Narasimha I, by his great Commander Akhtayi who supplemented them with his own liberal gifts which, I understand, the God still enjoys. It is also learnt that, with 47 Gaṇḍa Māḍas or gold coins, seven *Puṭṭis* of land were purchased.

Relations between the Gañgas and the Moslems.

From Mohammadan Histories, we learn that, from the time of Rāja Rāja III, there were inimical relations established between Dehli and Bengal Sultans on the one hand and Jajnagar or Orissa Rulers on the other.

In A.D. 1206, Kutb-ud-din Aibak, a Turkman slave of Muhammad Ghor, succeeded him to the throne of Dehli. He appointed Bhakhtyār Khilji to conquer Bengal and Bihar from the Sena Kings and he defeated them and conquered Bihar and Lakhnauti (Gaud). Bakhtiyar Khilji first conquered Bihar. He ruled at Lakhnauti. He subdued Nudiya driving out Lakshmana Rāya to Jagannath. He died in 1206. Before his death he sent two brothers Muhammad Shiran and Ahmad Iran to invade Lakhnore and Jajnagar.[197]

But, hearing of Bhakhtiyar's death, they returned to Devkot. Shortly after, they were put down by Kutbuddin who confirmed Laknauti on Ali Mardan who died after 2 years' rule. The next Governor of Lakhnauti was Ghiyasuddin. The country consisted of 2 parts on opposite banks of the Ganges. He received tribute from Lakhnauti, Jajnagar, Bengal, Kamrup and Tirhut. It was during his time that war broke out between Anañga Bhīma and Bengal. Sultan Shamsuddin Altmash sent an army from Dehli and conquered Bihar in 1225 and subdued Lakhnauti and killed Ghiyasuddin in 1226. He put down the power of the Khiljis by occupaying Gaur. After his death in 1235, weaklings succeeded until in 1246, Nasir-ud-din

197 Vide Pp. 314—320 in Elliot's History of India Vol. II. (Minhaj-i-Siraj's Tabakât-i-Nâsiri.)

a grandson of Iltimsh became Sultan and ruled for 20 years. He left the entire administration in the hands of his Minister Ulugh Khan till his death in 1266. This Ulugh Khan or Balban who succeeded his master was a veteran chief who subdued Bengal and Bihar.

When, on the death of Shāmsuddin Iltimsh weaklings succeeded to the throne of Dehli between A.D. 1235 and 1246, Tughān Khān became governor of North-west Bengal and ruled till 1244. In 1243, he was attacked by Narasimha I, the Raja of Jajnagar (Orissa), who had already subdued Lakhnāvati (Gauḍa *Dēśa*) after defeating the Moslems at Katāsin. In 1244, Narasimha I again invaded and took Lakhnor, the capital of Rādha in Bengal and sacked it. Gauda *Dēśa* was also taken. These events are referred to[198] in the C.P. Grants of Narasimha II, thus:—

"The (white) river Gañga, blackened for a great distance by the collyrium washed away by tears from the eyes of the weeping Yāvanās (Moslems) of Rāḍhā and Varēndra, and rendered waveless, as if by this astonishing achievement, was now transformed, by that monarch (i.e., Narasimha I) into the (blackwatered) Yamunā".

The contemporary Moslem Historian Minhāj-i-Siraj, the author of *Ṭabaqāṭ-i-Nāṣirī* however, says that, though Narasimha I took, in A. D. 1244, Lakhnor and Lakhnāvati, he fled before an invading Moslem army from Oudh. The Commander of the Jajnagar forces was called Sābantar, the son-in-law of the Raja who was said to have lost decisively at first but gained slightly finally.[199] Evidently, these battles were fought in the reign of Anañga Bhīma by his son Narasimha I who gained *decisive* victories over the Moslems, as stated in the Chāṭēśvara inscription of Anañga Bhīma and the C.P. Grant of Narasimha II and took Rādha and Varēndra. '*Sābantār*' would probably mean "*Sāmanta Rāi*" or Vassal king and the word 'son-in-law' is probably used wrongly for 'son', Narasimha being a son of Anañga Bhīma.

In 1245 Malik Yūzbak, the new governor of Moslem Bengal, is said to have marched from Lakhnāvati and reached the Raja's capital Umurdan and drove out the Raja, capturing his family, wealth and elephants. He is said to have ruled over Moslem Bengal and Lakhnāvati between 1246 and 1259 and to have struck a silver coin in memory of his conquests in 1255. As Umurdan was not *the capital of Orissa* in the 13th century, it was rightly considered that Yūzbak captured a fort of that name and not the capital. With his death in 1259, Moslem attacks on Orissa and Southern Bengal ceased.[200]

198 J.A.S.B. Vol. LXV, part I, pp. 231—233.
199 J.A.S.B. Vol. LXXII, part I, pp. 122—123.
200 Vide R. D. Banerji's History of Orissa, pp. 266—267.

After Balban ruled for 16 years, Tughril Khan rose in revolt at Lakhnauti.[201] He was the Viceroy of Lakhnauti and Moslem Bengal. He attacked Jajnagar[202] and carried off valuables and elephants. Briggs, following Dow, states that Jajnagar is on the banks of the Mahānadi and was the capital of Orissa and there is still a town called Jajpur in Cuttack District. Tughril's revolt was suppressed by Balban.

From the Bhuvanēśvar inscription of Chandrādēvi, it is learnt that that lady's husband, Paramārdhi of the Haihaya family fought against the Moslems during this reign and died. Narasimha I ultimately conquered Rādha and Varēndra countries (South-Kosala and Bengal), thus warding off Moslem attacks against his country.

The reigns of Rāja Raja III, Anañga Bhīma Dēva III and Narasimha I correspond roughly to the Rule of the Slave Dynasty (A.D, 1205-1288). Some of the slave kings like Kutbuddin, Iltmish, Firoz, Nasiruddin and Balban invaded and subdued Bengal and Bihar though they failed against Orissa. This was due to the hilly nature of the country, the strength of the Gañga power and the struggle between Bengal Sultans and Dehli Emperors. An Alankāra work called Ekāvali was composed by Vidyādhara who lived at the court of Narasimha I. M. Chakravarti very rightly held that he lived in Narasimha I's reign and not in his grandson's. The work gives several references to the king's fights with the Moslems who are referred to as Hammira, Yāvana and Śaka. The king is called *Yāvanāvani Vallabha* or Lord of Yāvana kingdom (Varēndra). He defeated the Hamira or Amirs of Bengal in *Vañga Sangara* or Battle of Bengal. He defeated the Moslems of Bengal, taking the offensive himself several times. This policy not only saved Orissa from Moslem conquest for a long time to come but also led to the addition of the southern districts of Western Bengal to the Kalinga Empire.

The reign of Narasimha I is important in the history of temple building in Orissa. Just as Anantavarma Chōḍa Gañga built the great temple of Jagannath and Anañga Bhima's daughter Chandrādēvi that of Bhuvanēśvara, Narasimha I built the Sun-Temple of Konārka in the same style. They are all works of great architectural skill showing the true Orissan style. They provide "one of the most complete and interesting styles of Indian architecture".[203]

201 After crossing Saru or Gogra river, a tributary of the Ganges, one would get into the province ef Lakhnauti or West-Bengal.

202 Jajnagar, here mentioned, is said to lie to the east of the Brahmaputra and to correspond to Tippera. Vide Ziauddin Barnī's Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi translated in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* Vol. III pp. 112—113 But this cannot be accepted.

203 The subject is dealt with elsewhere in greater detail in the Chapter on Ganga Art and Architecture.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL BODY MEETING HELD ON 13—4—1933 IN THE HINDU SAMAJ HALL.

PRESENT

Messrs.

1 Rao Saheb A. Rama Rao Pantulu (in the chair)

2	T. Venkataratnam	10	N. Venkataramayya
3	K. Raghavachari	11	N. Subba Rao Pantulu
4	V. Appa Rao	12	N. Kameswara Rao
5	K. Iswar Dutt	13	B. V. Krishna Rao
6	P. Kameswara Rao	14	R. Subba Rao B.L.
7	D. Ch. Kameswara Rao	15	R. Subba Rao M.A.
8	P. Ranganaikulu Naidu	16	C. Atmaram
9	M. Rama Rao	17	D. Venkata Rao.

1 Resolved that Messrs V. Appa Rao and P. Kameswara Rao be admitted as members of the Society.

2 Resolved that the Annual Report read by the Honorary Secretary be adopted.

3 Resolved that the Annual Report read by the Treasurer be adopted.

4 Resolved that the Annual Report read by the Librarian be adopted.

5 Resolved that the following Resolution of Mr. M. Rama Rao be passed:—

"Resolved that there shall be two Secretaries for the Society"

6 Resolved that the following Resolution of Mr. M. Rama Rao be passed:—

"Resolved that those who have been members of the Society for a period of at least five years and who wish to become life members, may be allowed to include the annual subscription that they have paid for those five years only in their life membership payment, on a further payment of the balance.

7 Resolved unanimously that the following Gentlemen be elected as Office-bearers for the year 1933—34.

1 *President*—Sri Raja K. S, Jagannadha Rao Bahadur garu

2 *Vice-President*—Rao Saheb A. Rama Rao Pantulu garu

3 *Secretary*—V. Appa Rao garu

4 *Treasurer*—N. Kameswara Rao garu

5 *Librarian*—M. Rama Rao garu

Managing Council.

Messrs.

1 Rao Bahadur P. Ranganayakulu Naidu

2 B. V. Krishna Rao

3 C. Atmaram

4 R. Subba Rao.

8 Resolved unanimously as follows:—

"This House unanimously places on record its deep debt of gratitude to and its high sense of appreciation of the work done by Mr. R. Subba Rao the outgoing Secretary during the last nine years. The young plant of the Society was literally nurtured by him in its infancy and brought up with great care and the Members, being fully aware of the great trouble which he undertook throughout, unanimously render their heart-felt thanks to him and place their appreciation of his work on record.

9 Resolved to adopt the Decennial Report of the Society read by the Secretary.

The Twelth Annual Report for 1932—33.

The Secretary, Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T. read the following report:—

The Managing Council have great pleasure in presenting the following Report of the Society's work for the year 1932—33.

At the last Annual General Body Meeting of the Society held on 10—4—32 under the Presidentship of M.R.Ry. Raja K.S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur, the annual reports presented by the Secretary, the Treasurer and the Librarian were read and adopted and the following office-bearers were elected for the year under report:—

Messrs.

Raja K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur, *President.*
Rao Saheb A. Rama Rao Pantulu B.A., B.L., *Vice-President*
R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., *Secretary.*
N. Kameswara Rao, B.A., B.L., *Treasurer.*
D. Venkata Rao, M.A., L.T., *Librarian.*

Members of the Council.

B. V. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L.
C. Atmaram B.A., B.L,
M. Rama Rao, B.A. (HONS.) B.Ed.
A. Sankara Rao, B.A., L.T.

The Librarian Mr. D. Venkata Rao having expressed his inability to carry on the work, the council accepted his resignation and elected in his place Mr. M. Rama Rao, B.A. (HONS.) B.Ed. on 23—8—32

To the vacancy caused in the managing council, due to Mr. M. Rama Rao being elected as Librarian, M. R. Ry. D. Venkata Rao Garu M.A., L.T., was elected on 14—10—32.

Corresponding Members.

During the year, the council elected Messrs D. Ramanacharya and Vidwan K. Appanna Sastri, both of Osmania College, Warangal, as Corresponding Members of the Society for the valuable supply of Coins and Epigraphs made by them.

Members.

The number of ordinary members on rolls on 1—4—1933 stands at 174 as against 187 of the previous year, and the number of Life Members at 5 as against 3. The decrease in ordinary membership is unfortunately due to the financial stringency which has also affected the Society in other ways.

Subscribers.

As compared with the number of 40 Subscribers on rolls on 1—4—1932, there are at present 42 Subscribers and it is hoped that this number will increase still further during the year.

Patrons.

During the year, the Society gained one more Life Patron, viz. the Honourable The Rajah of Bobbili in addition to the Rajah of Puri, the Rajah of Khallikota and the Rajah of Chemudu (already elected) who very kindly promised to donate annually a sum of Rs. 100 towards the publication of the Journal. Attempts are made to request the other Patrons also to donate similar sums annually so that the work of the Society may continue unhampered.

Exchanges.

During the year, more new journals were admitted to Exchange. The Society's Journal continues to exchange with 80 Journals and Books published in India and outside showing that its work is widely appreciated.

Journal.

During the year, the council re-elected Mr. N. Kameswara Rao, B.A., B.L., to edit the Journal. It re-elected the same Editorial council.

During the year, the Society published 5 parts of the journal as against 4 parts of the previous year, viz, parts 3 and 4 of Volume VI and parts 1, 2 and 3 of Volume VII. Part 4 of Volume VII is under print.

The Society has continued the publication of "The Revenue Administration of the Northern Circars"—a Thesis for PH.D.(London) prepared by Dr. Lanka Sundaram M.A., PH.D., F.R.E.S. It is satisfactory to note that the articles published in the Society's Journal continue to receive attention and notice in the pages of several Journals. Several books and periodicals are being received for favour of review in the pages of the Journal.

The Society's best thanks are due to the Editor and the Editorial Board as well as to the Contributors for maintaining the quality of the Journal.

Kakatiya Celebrations and Kakatiya Sanchika.

The Secretary, Mr. R. Subba Rao and the Editor of the Sanchika Mr. M. Rama Rao have both visited Hyderabad during April with a view to arrange the function. The Council feels glad to report that the mission was completely successful, the Nizam's Government having accorded permission for the holding of the Conference at Warangal on 25th, 26th and 27th instants and several gentlemen at Warangal and Hyderabad having attended and made the function a success. This year the Society has already printed 200 pages of the Kakatiya Sanchika after duly celebrating the Kakatiya function at Warangal. Donations and Subscriptions amounting to nearly Rs. 1000 have been collected.

Meetings and other Activities.

During the year, the Society held 9 M.C. meetings to transact the usual business of the Society such as passing the accounts, admitting new members and exchanges, etc. The Secretary of the Society, contributed to the Seventh International Congress of Historical Sciences, Warsaw, Poland, a paper on "The Ganga Administration in the 10th and 11th centuries." The Secretary was also elected to the Senate of the Andhra University.

Reading Room, Library and Museum.

The details of progress are given in the Librarian's report. A Library Catalogue is now almost ready. A reference Library is created. At the time of the last annual meeting, the Library had 700 Volumes whereas now it has nearly 900 Volumes. This phenomenal increase is due to 200 books and periodicals (worth about Rs. One thousand) being added, these having been received either for Review or Exchange or Presentation.

The Museum has also received important additions—Gold coins purchased or got in exchange from Mr. S.T. Sreenivasachary, Lead coins presented by D. Ramanacharya and Estampages of Stone inscriptions presented by K. Appannasastry & R. Subbarao. The impressions of three new C. P. grants viz., the Kechella, the Umavarma and the Pulimburu, published in the Society's Journal Vol. VI pt. I, a stone containing a new Telugu Chola Inscription and some Gold Coins of the Vizianagar kings and a few Coins of the Eastern Ganga and Andhra kings have also been added.

The Library and the Reading Room continue to be located in the Theosophical Lodge where spacious accomodation is provided freely. The Society's best thanks are due to the President and Members of the Lodge. It is satisfactory to note that, as a result of the shift, the number of members who have visited the Reading-Room has somewhat increased. Attempts are being made to get a Research Hall built for the Society.

Finance.

The details are given in the statement of the Treasurer. Last year, the Council noted with alarm that, due to decrease in membership-fees and donations, there was considerable fall in the receipts and so the Society had to borrow to the extent of nearly Rs. 600. The Council also feels constrained to bring to the notice of the General body that some members of the Society, both resident and moffusil, have not been able to clear up their arrears to the Society. One relieving feature this year is that the Society has been able to realise more than Rs. 1,400 by way of Donations and by Sale of Society's publications. To improve still further the position of the Society, the Council earnestly appeals to all the members to bring into the Society more of their friends as members and to convert their ordinary membership into life-membership.

In conclusion, the Managing Council places on record its grateful thanks to Mr. D. Sreeramamurty B.A., for auditing the accounts of the Society.

Treasurer's Statement of Receipts and Expenditure.

(From 1—4—32 to 31—3—33)

RECEIPTS.

	Rs.	As.	P.
Last year's balance	43	8	9
Subscription from Life Members	158	0	0
Do. from Members	538	10	3
Do. from Subscribers	294	3	0
Donations	1101	15	2
Sale of Kalinga Sanchikas	59	5	0
Do. Rajaraja Sanchikas	42	5	0
Journal Volumes	218	2	0
Library Deposits	23	8	0
Temporary Advances by the Treasurer	247	0	0
Mis. Receipts	2	0	0
	2728	9	2

EXPENDITURE

	Rs.	As.	P.
Postage	161	14	0
Travelling Expenses	136	10	0
Printing and Paper	1076	1	6
Blocks and Photos	118	2	0
Discharge of loans	623	6	0
Purchase of books	8	0	0
Do. of gold coins	97	8	0
Railway freight and cooly for books	4	6	0
Binding of books	67	12	0
Peon's pay	98	0	0
Stationery	14	2	6
Lighting charges	24	0	0
Permanent advances to Secretary and Editor Kakatiya Sanchika for postage etc.	32	0	6
Advances returned ro Treasurer	247	0	0
Miscellaneous charges	15	11	0
S. B. Account	2	5	2
Balance on hand	1	10	6
	2728	9	2

N.B.—Ten copies of Rajaraja Sanchika have been disposed of during the year--8 sold, 1 exchanged and the other given as complimentary. The price of 1 copy sold during the previous year is not yet realised. The number of copies on hand is 95. 12 copies of Kalingadesacharitra have been disposed of during the year--7 sold, 1 exchanged and 4 given as complimentary. The number of copies on hand is 367 of which 14 are with the binder and the rest with the Treasurer.

Parts 3 and 4 of Volume VI and parts 1 to 3 of Volume VII have been published during the year and the numbers of the above parts in stock are as follows:—

Vol. 6 pts. 3 and 4—162 Vol. 7 pt. 1—212 Vol. 7 pt 2—203
Vol. 7 part 3—200.

Checked the Statement of accounts and found them correct, and supported by vouchers.

D. SRIRAMAMURTI B.A.
10—4—33.

N. KAMESWARA RAO, B.A., B.L
Treasurer.
10—4—33.

Library Report for 1932—33.

Period.

Mr. D. Venkata Rao M.A., L.T., continued to be the Librarian till 23—8—32 when he resigned and I was elected in his place. The receipts and issue of Books and Journals received my immediate attention. They were hitherto being entered in a Register without the date of receipt and without the nature of each entry being specified. The issue was being recorded in a log book kept in the Library, in charge of the peon. I have introduced the system of dating and specifying each entry in the Receipt Register and opened a separate Issue Register. The printed Library slips were made use of in this connection. The presence of the peon in the Library between 4-30 and 7 P.M. was regularised,

Accommodation.

The Library continued to be in the healthy and spacious Theosophical lodge, to whose authorities the sincere thanks of the Society are due for their continued hospitality and kindness. There are at present four almyrahs in the Library and into them all the books and journals are being crowded owing to lack of space. The arrangement of books and journals and the replacing of loose parts by bound volumes has increased the need for additional accommodation and this means additional space. Some of the stone inscriptions acquired by the Society are kept outside while C.Ps., estampages, coins and other Museum materials are in the custody of the Secretary of the Society, owing to lack of proper accommodation. I hope that the Museum section will soon be opened.

Additions.

The strength of the Library has considerably improved during the year under review. The additions this year amount to 231 as against 96 of the previous year. Out of these 23 were sent for review, 35 were presented and 173 got in exchange for the Society's journal. No appreciable number of books were bought owing to the stoppage of the Government and Municipal grants this year. The Library contains today 518 books, 340 bound volumes of journals and about 200 loose numbers of books and journals.

Binding

While the catalogue was being prepared, the loose numbers were all separated into their respective volumes and letters were addressed to their Editors for supplying missing parts. Eight loose parts were received in response therefor. 105 journals and books were bound during the year.

An examination of the old Registers of the Library has revealed the fact that 35 books previously borrowed by members had not been returned to the Library. Intimations are being sent to the members concerned and it is hoped that their early return would facilitate further binding work.

Cataloguing.

An attempt in this direction was made by Messrs. D. Venkata Rao and D. Sambasiva Rao and a typed list containing 392 books was got ready. Since taking charge, I verified this list with the books in the shelves, made many additions and brought it up,to-date. A separate list of the journals was also prepared. The books and journals were arranged properly and the catalogue was given to the press towards the close of February 1933.

The "books" section has been already printed and the "Journals" section is almost over. It is hoped to add to the catalogue a list of Copper-Plates, Coins and other Museum material, and print the Library rules as well in separate sections.

Reading-Room.

The number of visitors to the Library during the year was 900 as against 1201 of the previous year and only 45 books and journals were borrowed by members as against 58 of the last year, the decrease in either case being due to the distance of the Library from the town.

Suggestions.

The Library is increasing in size and volume day by day and needs, as such, greater care and attention. The exchange list is daily growing and the printed catalogue is sure to increase the issue of books. The need for a full—timed paid clerk for the Library is very much felt. Two more almyrahs are required for the decent arrangement of the books and journals in the Library and the separation of the Reference Section. It is also suggested that the Society Library may be affiliated to the Connemara Public Library, Madras in order to enable members to have access to more books otherwise not available.

The Librarian's sincere thanks are due to Mr. R. Subba Rao M.A., L.T. the Hon. Secretary of the Society for continued help during the cataloguing and arrangement of books.

M. RAMA RAO, B.A. (HONS.) B.Ed.
Honorary Librarian.

Proceedings of the Public Meeting held on 13—4—1933.

Mr. R. Subba Rao, Honorary Secretary of the Society, while proposing Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar to the Chair, said before a gathering of the Members of the Andhra Historical Research Society, and several educated citizens of Rajahmundry in the Hindu Samaj premises on 13—4—1933:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to propose Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar, a former professor of Indian History and Archaeology in Mysore and Madras Universities, who has done not a little in the field of Indian Historical Research, as Chairman. I may say, without any fear of contradiction, that he was really the pioneer of Indian Historical Research and his work in various historical and archaeological fields is well-known to the students of history. For the last 22 years nearly, I happen to know him, eversince I was a student of the Christian College, nearly a quarter of a century ago. I was acquainted with him later on when I was studying for the M. A. Examination and I always had opportunities to approach the professor to receive advice. At all times, he was kind not only to me but to every student and it is with very great pleasure therefore, that I proposed him and the Council unanimously agreed that the Andhra Historical Research Society's Decennial Celebrations should be conducted by so well-known a professor who has done so much research work in the historical field. For several years, he was connected with the All-India Oriental Conference and as the Chief Secretary to the All-India Oriental Conference which met at Madras in 1926 he spared no pains and it was owing to his untiring efforts that it came to a successful end. I think you know what great work is being turned out by the All-India Oriental Conferences concerning everything that is connected with the field of historical and literary research. I happen to know Dr. Ayyangar more closely because, during the last 6 or 7 years, I am also connected with the All-India Oriental Conferences as well as the Indian Historical Records Commissions. Dr. S.K. Ayyangar has done great service in the cause of Historical Research and so, we ought to have him as our worthy President. I propose him once more to the Chair and thank him on behalf of this Association for his kindly coming over here at great personal inconvenience and, may I say, at a *great sacrifice*, on his part.

Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu seconded the proposal and Dr. Ayyangar took the Chair. After usual prayer conducted by M.R.Ry. Chilakamarti Lakshmi Narasimham pantulu garu, the Chairman spoke as follows:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,

A Chairman is ha put to make opening remarks with nothing to remark upon. I dare sa your energetic Secretary Mr. Subbarao has provided material upon whic I might make some few remarks usefully. The all too flattering introduction that he gave of me and my work, perhaps bordering on the hyperbole, may well be excused on the ground that he spoke of his acquintence with me for a number of years in the capacity of an advanced student at the University and ever afterwards in various ways as teacher and as one engaged in doing some little research work of his own in connection with this Historical Research Society of which he has been the most energetic Secretary for the last 10 years. The work in the field of Historical Research is just now getting into some recognition. It has been so popular now, so well recognised and encouraged to draw people into it and for a considerable amount of time, for 35 years, within my knowledge, it is a question of up-hill work. Therefore one need not be surprised if persons and bodies engaged in such work find their part not a bed of roses or part of pleasure, but one of painful toil up through obstacles of all kinds.

A distinguished statesman with great reputation as administrator and patriot, just about the time that I was going to have the responsbility of the first Chair of an Indian University, put it to me point blank, "why do you waste your time in doing historical research work? Why can't you do some economic work?" He frankly put the question to me. And I am not prepared to say that we are still out of the 'movies' so far as that particular work is concerned. If Mr. Subbarao has been flattering, it comes really flattering unquestioned because, I said that kind of work does not receive attention and is not so popular as to receive such warm welcome from the multitudes. In regard to what I am able to do under stress of circumstances, that is, compared with the work to be done in the field, what I have been able to do is but infinitismal, after 40 years of close study and 30 years of actual labour. It is 32 years since my first paper saw print. Then I have been more or less regularly at it these 32 years, and all the while I have been engaged upon absolutely nothing more than merely laying the *bones for a body*. And unless that is settled, the real putting in of the flesh and blood and the skin of *jubilent* color could not follow without bones being put in particular places. I am only a transitional worker laying the bones for those that follow and do all other architectural work to build up a real human creature. I have been so far labouring with some little success. It is not for me to claim nor even for Mr. Subba Rao to certify.

In regard to my coming here, I acknowledge Mr. R. Subbarao's description. I was really, when I last wrote to him, between the devil and the deep sea. After screwing up my courage and in the welcome warmth of this afternoon,— it is not merely an exaggeration and not a question of sentiment—I told Mr. Subbarao that I found consolation that I might dip my head in the Godavari and perform some kind of *Tharpana*. I shall not stand any longer between you and those who have undertaken to read before you some interesting papers this evening:

Then, the Reading of Papers, contributed by various scholars on subjects of much interest followed.

Mr. M. Ramarao B. A, (Hons). B. Ed. read his paper on *Sivayōgasāramu* and Mr. R. Subbarao M.A., L.T. on *Narahari Thirtha* and the paper on *Divyas or Ordeals* by Dineshchandra Sarkar M.A. was read out by Mr. C. Atmaram B.A., B.L.

In bringing the proceedings to a close, Mr. Ayyangar said: "Of course, papers read are interesting each in its own particular way. Mr. Ramarao's paper certainly brings some new facts and Mr. Subbarao's has the merit of confirming the traditions that are prevailing in the times of Narahari Theertha in the Kalinga Country. The paper on the Divyas or Ordeals is interesting in as much as it throws interesting light on trial by Ordeal.

I may mention, as being present here, that the Research Society has had its struggles in its infancy for its existence and managed to pull together and has more healthy boyhood just reaching a stage of completing its tenth year, perhaps tomorrow,

It has done, during the period of infantile ailments considerable good work for which the managers deserve great credit. The Treasurer's Report published in the last year's Journal does not offer very cheerful reading nor any cheerful prospect but the treasury has been placed in careful hands and with the same careful management of that sort, I would say, the financial difficulties would soon become a thing of the past. It is not anything very peculiar to this society for, other Societies that are out to do some useful work have had their own struggles very similar, sometimes, or many times worse than the difficulties which the Andhra Society had to meet. Infantile ailments are incidental to infantile life. We ought not to be discouraged to go through these struggles. Persistency is the watchword and so we stick up to the watchword in this and in any other case. The Managers deserve congratulations for the promotion of this Society, With the same energy that has been exhibited these ten years, the Society is bound to go forward from step to step, in a glorious progress, so that, in fullness of time, the Andhra Historical Research Society will find its name among the learned Research Societies existing in various parts of the country.

Gentlemen, I thank you for the honour you have shown to me in asking me to preside over this evening function.

A. Subscriptions received during the quarter ending with 31—3—33.

(1) Members.

Messrs	Rs.	As.	Messrs	Rs.	Rs.
Venkatarangiah M.	3	8	Somasundara Desikar	3	8
Srinivasaraghavachari M. K.	3	0	Veerabhadriah Sri Hota	3	0
Prakasam B.	2	0	Ramana Rao Y. V.	3	3
Banerji S. (31—33)	7	0	Raghavachari K.	3	0
Nageswara Rao G.	1	0	Krishnamachari M.	3	0
Rama Rao M.	3	9	Narasimham V.	3	0
Ranganayakulu Naidu P.	4	0	Sankara Rao A.	3	0
Suryanarayana K.	2	0			
			Total Rs.	48	1

(2) Subscribers.

Maharaja of Pittapuram	6	8
Campbell Library, Vizag	6	8
Commissioner, Ajmere-Merwara	6	8
Principal, Patna College	6	8
Do Parlakimidi College	6	8
Do P. R. College, Coconada	6	8
Do Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry	6	0
Do Training College, Rajahmundry	6	0
Do Presidency College, Madras	6	8
Do C. D. College, Anantapur	6	8
The Andhra University (*2 years*)	13	0
The Librarian, State Library, Hyderabad	6	8
Subedar Saheb of Warrangal	6	8
Arthur Probsthain	17	14
Curator. Museum, Hyderabad Deccan	6	8
Hindustan Academy, Allahabad	6	8
Goa	6	8
	127	6

B. Donations received during the Quarter.

Dharmavira Vamana Ramachandra Naik	100	0
The Hon'ble the Rajah of Bobbili	100	0
Rajah of Chemudu	100	0
Total Rs.	300	0
Grand Total Rs.	475	7

N. KAMESWARA RAO, B.A., B.L.
Treasurer.